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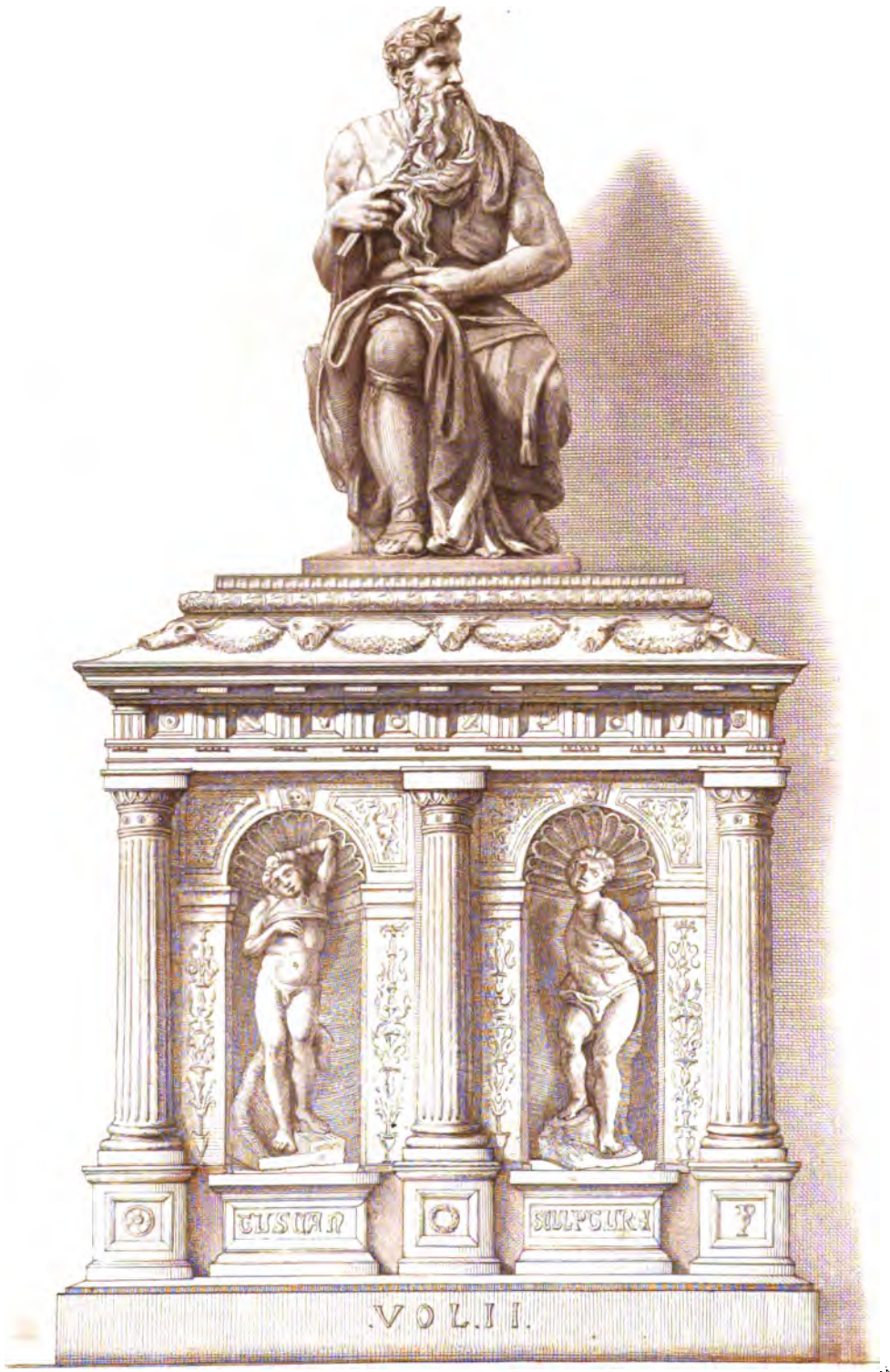

belangelo. sc

TUSCAN SCULPTORS:

THEIR

LIVES, WORKS, AND TIMES.

WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

BY

CHARLES C. PERKINS.

'ALS ICH KAN, NIET ALS IK WIL'—(DUTCH PROVERB).

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.
1864.

80342/21

FA5100.1

1868. April 15

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BOOK V.

MICHELANGELO.

Che rade volte c' è estremo, sanza vizio.—GIOTTO, *Canzone della Povertà.*

CHAPTER I.

MICHELANGELO.

Ingenium triplex docto præfulsit ab Arno.

THE complex nature of Michelangelo, whom Pindemonte calls the man of four souls, has generally been studied as a whole, though each of its component parts, when examined separately, appears in itself sufficient to have filled up his life, as it would have insured his fame.

Sculpture the favourite art of Michelangelo.

In none of the manifestations of his genius does he appear greater than in sculpture, for which his predilection was so marked, that he always turned to it when not actually forced by some one of his taskmasters to build or to paint. In one of his letters he says, 'It is only well with me when I have a chisel in my hand,' and he tells us in one of his most beautiful sonnets,

Non ha l' ottimo artista alcun concetto,
Che un solo marmo in se non circoscriva.

Teeming with possibilities, the virgin block seemed to his mind a prison, in which a captive idea waited to be set free by the action of his strong hand. Blow after blow descended upon it until his thought took visible shape, sometimes but partially, if unable to resist the desire to work out some new idea which had taken possession of him he turned away, leaving it in a state vague as music, and as powerful upon the imagination; greater perhaps than if completely revealed; wanting in a clear and precise significance, and therefore ever new in its effect upon the

beholder, as his mood of the moment makes him see in it to-day what he did not see yesterday, and will not see to-morrow.

Michelangelo's vagueness of style.

The same vagueness exists, though in a less degree, in his finished statues, such as the David, the Moses, and the allegorical figures upon the Medici tombs, all which are suggestive of something beyond themselves, and thus endlessly excite the imagination. Michelangelo, who was an enemy to tradition in art, as well as to a positive imitation of nature, took a path diametrically opposed to that followed by the Conventionalists, the Realists, and the worshippers of the Antique; the first of whom slavishly followed a set of rules without any exercise of thought; while the second dealt with fact, and aimed at reproducing in marble or on canvass the nature which they saw around them; and the third only sought to conform themselves to a classical standard. He was a great dreamer, who, dealing with gigantic shapes, developed man into something more than man, and who by the novelty and strangeness of his productions has placed himself out of the pale of ordinary criticism; his defects are palpable to all, but like spots in the sun they are surrounded by a dazzling indistinctness, which renders it impossible to examine them closely. Many are the artists who suit our taste better, move our feelings more deeply, and satisfy us a thousand times more than this Titan of a late time, but we know of no one, ancient or modern, who leaves a stronger impression of power upon the mind, or who has more unmistakably imprinted the stamp of genius upon all that he touched.

Michelangelo's ancestry.

Michelangelo's family, the Buonarotti Simoni, boasted descent from the Reggian counts of Canossa,[1] through Simon Canossa, who, according to tradition, settled in Florence about the middle

[1] The counts of Canossa were descended from Beatrice, sister of the emperor Henry II. (crowned 1004), and mother of the famous Countess Matilde (died 1115.) It was in the courtyard of the castle of Canossa (which is situated in the Apennines, to the south of Reggio), that Pope Gregory VII. obliged the emperor Henry IV. to do penance for three days, before he would admit him to his presence, and absolve him from excommunication (A.D. 1077).

of the thirteenth century, where he became a Guelph, and was ultimately made Podestà of the city. Though this cannot be historically proved, still as Alessandro Canossa claimed Michelangelo as a relative, and wrote[1] to express his desire to know him personally and to present him to his family, and as it was believed in by Michelangelo and by the senator Filippo Buonarotti, and is asserted by Condivi, we may at least accept it as probable.[2]

Michelangelo. N. A.D. 1475.

On March 6, 1475, and under the most favourable conjunction of the planets, as Condivi tells us,[3] Francesca, wife of Ludovico di Lionardo Buonarotti, gave birth to Michelangelo at the Castello di Caprera in Casentino, of which his father was Podestà. When the year of Ludovico's magistracy had expired, he returned to Florence with his family, leaving the child at nurse at Settignano, where he owned a villa. Michelangelo's foster mother was the daughter as well as the wife of a stonecutter, and he was therefore wont to say it was no wonder that he grew up with such a love for the chisel.[4]

When old enough he was brought to Florence, and sent to the grammar school of Francesco da Urbino, where he devoted more

[1] This letter is preserved in the Casa Buonarotti at Florence (*vide* Grimm, *Leben Michelangelos*, vol. i. p. 82); Campori, *op. cit.* pp. 100 and 102, rejects this claim, and Vasari speaks of it doubtfully. If proved, it proves Michelangelo's relationship to the royal family of Great Britain, as Obert I., another of the descendants of the Countess Beatrice, was the ancestor of Azzo II., marquis of the house of Este, who married Cunigonda, daughter of Guelph II., Duke of Bavaria, whose son, Guelph IV., founded the second Guelphic dynasty, from which sprang the house of Brunswick. Gualandi, *op. cit.*, series iii. p. 45. Harford's *Life of Michelangelo*, vol. ii. p. 230.

[2] Condivi, *Vita del Buonarotti*, p. 3.

[3] Not 1474, as his biographers state, the three months' difference in the Florentine style, which at that time commenced the year on the 25th of March, Annunciation Day, having been overlooked in this adoption of dates by Vasari and Condivi. *Quarterly Review*, for April, 1858, p. 446.

[4] 'Motteggiando peravventura (o forse anco dicendo da dovero) per saper che il latte della nutrice in noi ha tanta forza, che spesse volte trasmutando la temperatura del corpo, d'una inclinazione ne introduca un altra dalla natura molto diversa.'—*Condivi*, p. 3.

Becomes the pupil of Ghirlandajo.

time to drawing than to study, and, stimulated by the example of his friend Francesco Granacci, determined to become the pupil of the painter Domenico Ghirlandajo. His father employed threats and punishments to turn him from this project, regarding the profession of an artist as ignoble, and far less becoming a youth of good birth than the silk and woollen trades, in which his other sons were employed,[1] but finding that Michelangelo was not to be moved from his purpose, he permitted him when he attained

A.D. 1489.

the age of fourteen to have his own way, though doubtless surprised at the estimate which Ghirlandajo showed of the value of his son's services, by paying him progressively from ten to twelve ducats a month as his assistant, instead of receiving money from him as his pupil.

All the energy of the youth who was destined to become one of the world's most subjective artists, was at this period of his life devoted to counterfeiting drawings by the old masters, in which he succeeded so well that it was often almost impossible

Copy of Schongauer's print.

to distinguish his counterfeit from the original. Among his imitations was one of Martin Schöngauer's well-known engraving of St. Anthony beaten by devils, which he enlarged and coloured, studying every detail from nature. Condivi says it far surpassed the original in excellence,[2] and greatly excited the envy of Ghirlandajo, who from that time treated the young artist with great severity.

Unfinished picture,

A far more precious proof of early genius (if, as we suppose, it was painted at this time) is his beautiful unfinished tempera

[1] The sharp rebuke administered by Michelangelo at a late period of his life to some persons who had so far forgotten the respect due to a man of good family like himself, as to address him by the title of 'Michelangelo, scultore,' looks as if he had a share of his father's false pride. (*Quarterly Review*, article on 'Harford's Life of Michelangelo,' p. 488.)

[2] So also says Carlo Bianconi, who saw this picture in 1802. Gualandi says Giordani also saw it, and described it to him at Bologna; *vide* Gualandi, first series, *op. cit.* pp. 73 and 78, nota 9.

picture[1] of the Madonna and Child with St. John and Angels, which combines with an incipient grandeur of style, such delicacy of line and feeling, and purist character of drapery, as we should expect to find in a work by Michelangelo while under the influence of Ghirlandajo. probably painted about 1489–91.

Before the termination of his apprenticeship, Michelangelo was introduced, to the Gardens of St. Mark by his friend Granacci, where, with other young men of his age, he had the advantage of studying the precious works of art collected by Lorenzo de' Medici, who frequently came to see the students, and to superintend the workmen employed there in preparing marble to build a Library, in which he proposed to collect the Medicean books and manuscripts.

With all his vices and tyrannical excesses, Lorenzo de' Medici had a rare love of art, and while he deprived citizens of their liberty and condemned them to death for state offences, plundered the public treasury and the Monte di Pietà for his own private ends, and often treated his relatives and dependents ungenerously and even cruelly, he was the generous patron of artists, whose merit he was quick to perceive, whose wants he was always ready to supply, and in whose society he behaved with the same gracious affability which marked his intercourse with the men of letters, with whom he loved to discuss the sublime doctrines of Plato, recite verses, and talk upon poetry.[2] Lorenzo de' Medici.

As soon as Lorenzo had seen a Faun's head,[3] which Michel- Lorenzo favours and protects Michelangelo.

[1] H. Grimm (*Leben Michelangelos*, vol. i. p. 181), suggests that this picture was painted during Michelangelo's first visit to Rome. Rumohr, *It. Forsch.*, vol. iii. p. 96, speaks of it as in the possession of Mrs. Day at Rome, and considers it an early work. It is now preserved at Stoke Park.

[2] Lorenzo's conduct is the severest comment upon the wretched state of his time, since if virtue and justice had then been held in esteem, he would at least have pretended to practise the one and administer the other. Prof. Villani, *Vita di Savonarola*, vol. i. p. 46.

[3] Now in the Uffizi. The Madonna and Child, in flat relief, preserved in the Casa Buonarotti at Florence, must have been sculptured by Michelangelo at this period.

angelo had copied from the Antique, he was convinced of his extraordinary talent, and determined to foster it by every means in his power. He therefore asked his father's permission for him to live at the Medici Palace with a salary of four ducats a month; he readily obtained it, and Michelangelo was thus enabled to spend three happy years without a shadow of care, in the society of Lorenzo and his friends Pulci and Politian, who gave him constant proofs of affection. Politian especially interested himself in his studies, and suggested to him the battle of

First bas-relief.

Hercules and the Centaurs as a subject for a bas-relief[1] which he then modelled. It is filled with a mass of tangled forms, whose bold attitudes and anatomical development are the first indications of those peculiarities which especially characterise his later style. He himself in after years found in it such unmistakeable proofs of genius for sculpture, that he regretted ever having spent his time upon any other branch of art.

A.D. 1492.

On the death of Lorenzo, Michelangelo, overcome with grief, returned to his father's house, and, unable to work, spent whole days in brooding over a loss which seemed to him irreparable. Rousing himself at last from this state of inaction, he modelled a statue of Hercules, 'than which,' says Gori, who owned the original sketch of the head, 'it would be impossible to find a more beautiful or more expressive representation of the hero in a thoughtful mood.[2]

Anatomical studies, A.D. 1493.

After this, he made a wooden Crucifix for the Church of Santo Spirito, which procured him the favour of the Prior, who gave him a room in the adjoining Convent, where (as he has represented himself in one of his usual 'ricordi' of all observed varieties

[1] Preserved in the Casa Buonarotti.

[2] Gori's notes to Condivi's *Life of Michelangelo*, p. 103. This statue, after long standing in the Palazzo Strozzi, was sold by Agostino Dini (Filippo Strozzi's 'homme d'affaires') to Giovanni Battista della Palla, who sent it to France for king Francis I., by whom he was employed to purchase works of art. Its subsequent fate is unknown. Vasari, vol. xii. p. 165, nota 2.

of posture and momentary action), he worked at night, with his flaming torch stuck in the breast of a corpse obtained from the neighbouring hospital, and thus laid the foundation of that profound knowledge of anatomy which was the essence of his art. The further we proceed in the story of his life the stronger proofs do we find, that he only cared to illustrate nature as seen in man; that he formed himself upon her teachings far more than upon those of any master-pieces of antique or modern art; and that, absorbed in his own conceptions, he worked from within outwards. We cannot doubt his perception of the marvellous beauties of the Antique, but he evidently did not aim at bringing his style into accordance with its requirements, like Ghiberti and Donatello, though we may infer that he considered his own work inferior to the Antique, from his injunction to the Duchess of Mantua, always to show his statue of Cupid before showing an antique of the same subject which she also kept in her cabinet, 'in order that connoisseurs, in seeing both, might judge how greatly the ancients surpassed the moderns in such works.' [1]

His appreciation of the Antique.

The one antique fragment which seems to have roused his enthusiasm, as was natural from its wonderful anatomical treatment, was the Belvidere Torso. The Laocoon does not seem to have greatly moved him, judging from the cold account given by Francesco di Sangallo[2] of their seeing it together just after it had been exhumed.

A few months before the fall of Piero de' Medici, whom his own father described as a fool, Michelangelo again became an inmate of the Medici Palace, but under what changed circumstances! Treated as a servant by an ignoble master who classed

[1] Quoted from the *Memoirs of M. de Thou*, in Mariette's *Notes upon Condivi*, p. 68.

[2] Given in Fea's *Notizie int. Raffaelle*, p. 21. Sangallo makes a blunder in saying that the Laocoon was found in a vineyard near Sta. Maria Maggiore, as it was discovered in the spring of 1506 in the Baths of Titus, by a Roman who owned the place, and who was paid 500 golden scudi for it by the Pope. Cristoforo Romano and Michelangelo were called upon to examine it in order to

him, as is said, with a pet lackey, and employed him to make a statue out of the snow which chanced to have fallen unusually deep one winter's day, he must have groaned in spirit as he recalled the years when he sat as a friend at Lorenzo's table, and when every pencil line he drew was watched by the Prince's admiring and appreciative eyes.

Jan. 20. 1494. St. Fior, 1493.

In September of the same year his last tie with the past was broken by the death of Politian, who though accused of the worst vices, and hated by the people as a partisan of Piero de' Medici, had been to him a true friend and a valuable counsellor.[1] In November Piero fled to Bologna, and Michelangelo, unable to remain neutral, and unwilling to side against the son of his benefactor, however unworthy, left Florence for Venice shortly before Charles VIII. made his triumphal entry into the city.

First visit to Venice and Bologna.

After spending a few weeks there, the want of funds and the desire to be nearer home induced him to go to Bologna, where he was arrested at the gates, on account of the neglect of some police formalities, and fined fifty florins. Unable to pay this sum, he was about to be taken to prison, when he was recognised by one of the city magistrates, named Gian Francesco Aldovrandi, who obtained his liberation, and gave him a home in his house for more than a year. Through his means Michelangelo received a commission to sculpture an angel for the altar before the shrine of St. Dominic, which is so utterly unlike his style, that

verify Pliny's statement that it was cut out of one block; their report was that such was not the case, but that the pieces of which it was composed were put together with such neatness that Pliny might well have been deceived, though perhaps he merely made the statement in order to enhance the fame of the work. Pliny's words (lib. xxxvi. ch. v. line 33) are 'Sicut in Laocoonte, qui est in Titi imperatoris domo, opus omnibus et picturæ et statuariæ artis præferendum. *Ex uno lapide eum* et liberos draconumque mirabiles nexus de consilii sententia fecere summi artifices Agesander et Polydorus et Athenodorus Rhodii.'

[1] Politian died September 24, 1494. With his last breath he expressed penitence for his sins, and his wish to be buried in the church of St. Mark, dressed as a Dominican monk. Prof. Villani, *op. cit.* vol. i. lib. ii. p. 226.

its authenticity might well be questioned were it not for the evidence of Vasari and Condivi, both of whom had from his own lips the story of his residence in Bologna. We can only account for this by supposing, that he endeavoured as far as possible to assimilate his work to the other statuettes about the shrine, and thus for the moment lost his individuality.[1] That he at this time made careful copies of the bas-reliefs sculptured by Jacopo della Fonte about the doorway of St. Petronius, as his biographers tell us, will be readily believed by anyone who has noticed the striking resemblance between the Creation of Eve by the Sienese sculptor (see Plate XII. Vol. I.), and that painted by Michelangelo upon the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.

Much against the will of Signor Aldovrandi, who had become greatly attached to him, and took great pleasure in listening to his readings of Dante and Petrarch, Michelangelo returned to Florence, as political reasons no longer compelled him to absent himself.[2] His patriotic heart must have rejoiced at the change which had been wrought there during his absence. Without the shedding of a single drop of blood an imbecile tyrant had been expelled, and a free people constituted under the government of a great council, by the agency of a simple friar, whose Christian virtues, indomitable will, and utter fearlessness of consequences in the pursuit of right had so endeared him to the Florentines, that they were watchful of his slightest word; whose profound conviction that he was the chosen vessel in the hands of God to regenerate his fellow-citizens, and open their eyes to the Truth,

Return to Florence, A.D. 1495.

Savonarola.

[1] See Gualandi, 5th series, pp. 32–37, for a full statement of the pros and cons of this belief. This figure was contracted for by Nicola dell' Arca; but Gualandi supposes that the original having been broken or carried away, Michelangelo may have been commissioned to remake it. He is also said to have sculptured the statuette of St. Petronius which stands above the Arca.

[2] There is a story that his residence at Bologna had become irksome and even dangerous, on account of the jealousy of an artist whom he had supplanted in the commission at San Petronius.

in an age of corruption, vice and falsehood, had given him boundless power over them.

Although Michelangelo must have often seen and heard Savonarola, who first preached in the Duomo during Lent 1491, his intimacy with Lorenzo de' Medici, who both hated and feared the great friar, probably prevented him from being then attracted to that wonderful man. Now however that the reign of Platonism and irreligion was at an end, he seems to have shared the universal feeling, for we are told that he never forgot the sound of Savonarola's living voice, and always held his writings in great reverence. It was probably at this time and through this influence, that he began to take pleasure in reading the Scriptures, and commenced that study of them which he never afterwards abandoned. As we then date the forming of Michelangelo's style in art from the period when he began his anatomical studies in the convent of Santo Spirito, so do we date the shaping of his mind and character from the days which he spent in reading Dante to his friend Aldovrandi at Bologna, and in listening to the sermons of Savonarola at Florence.

Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici.

Michelangelo now found his kindest patron in a second Lorenzo de' Medici, the son of Pier Francesco, who was descended from a brother of Cosmo, 'Pater Patriæ,' but whose branch of the family had never been on good terms with that in authority. After suffering imprisonment and banishment at Piero's hands, he had fled with his brother Giovanni to France, whence they returned in the suite of King Charles VIII., and to conciliate the people, to whom the Medici had become odious, took the name of 'Popolani,'[1] and conformed themselves to the new order of things.

Michelangelo sculptures a sleeping Cupid.

Lorenzo immediately showed his interest in Michelangelo by giving him an order for a statue of St. John, of which we have no description. While fulfilling this commission, our sculptor worked upon a sleeping Cupid, which brought about a great

[1] Just as Philippe d'Orleans called himself L'Egalité. Grimm, vol. i. p. 156.

change in his life and prospects, for no sooner had Lorenzo de' Medici seen it, than, struck with its antique character, he advised him to make it look like old marble, and send it to Rome, to be there buried, and dug up as an antique. The scheme was carried out by Baldassare del Milanese, who first deceived the Cardinal di San Giorgio,[1] when selling the Cupid to him, and then Michelangelo, by sending him only thirty ducats, instead of the two hundred which he had received for it. When the Cardinal discovered the trick, he returned the statue, took back his money, and anxious to know the sculptor of so admirable a counterfeit, sent one of his gentlemen to Florence to find him out, and to promise him the recovery of his statue or his money and full employment, if he would come to Rome. It was not difficult to identify the maker of the Cupid, and when, like Giotto, who drew a circle to prove his skill to the agent of Pope Benedict XI., Michelangelo drew a hand upon a sheet of paper,[2] all doubt was dispelled from the mind of the emissary, who easily persuaded him to accept the Cardinal's offers.

First visit to Rome, A.D. 1495–1496

On his arrival at Rome, Michelangelo offered Baldassare a hundred ducats if he would give up the Cupid, but this he refused to do, saying that he had paid for it, and would rather break it to pieces than relinquish it.[3] He next went to the Cardinal di San Giorgio, at the Palazzo Riario (now Corsini) on the Lungara, who received him with great kindness, consulted him as to the merit of some antique marbles, which he had purchased, and (to use his own words in a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici) 'asked me if

The Cardinal di San Giorgio.

[1] This Cardinal, Raphael Riario, who belonged to the family of Pope Sixtus IV., was saying mass in the Duomo at Florence, when the Pazzi conspirators attacked Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, A.D. 1478.

[2] This drawing was bought by Mariette at the sale of Mr. Crozat's effects. (Condivi relates the story, but Vasari says nothing about it.) Mariette's *Notes to Condivi*, p. 68.

[3] Cæsar Borgia, who afterwards bought it, gave it to Isabella d' Este, Duchess of Mantua, after which all trace of it is lost. See Gouverie, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 99. M. de Thou saw it at Mantua in 1573; Mariette suggests that it may have perished when that city was sacked. Mariette, *op. cit.* p. 68.

I felt myself capable of making something beautiful. To which I replied, that I could not do anything very great, but that he should see what I could do. We have purchased a block of marble, and I shall begin to work upon it on Monday.' As no further mention is made of the matter, it seems probable that the Cardinal never confirmed his rather indefinite order, and some writers have supposed that Michelangelo used the block of marble mentioned in his letter either for the Adonis or the Bacchus of the Uffizi Gallery, the first two statues which he is known to have sculptured in Rome.

Statue of Bacchus.

The Bacchus, which was ordered by a Roman gentleman, named Jacopo Galli, is a naked youth, with a garland upon his head, and a tiger skin hanging from his arm; with uncertain step and vacant smile, he reels under the influence of the wine, which he has drained from a cup in his right hand, and holds in his left a bunch of grapes, upon which a little satyr is stealthily feeding. The subject and attributes of this statue are of a classical character, but its conception is purely material, for it is a representation of a youth in an ignoble state of drunkenness.

Statue of Cupid.

A much nearer approach to the antique standard is the Cupid which he made at this period for Signor Galli. It represents the youthful god kneeling on one knee, and leaning forward as from a height, to follow the flight of an arrow. The figure is full of life and momentary action, and the face eager and beautiful. (See Tail-piece.)[1] With a single and unimportant exception, it was the last Pagan subject treated in marble by Michelangelo, who now, in his twenty-fourth year, inaugurated the long line of his Christian works by a Pietà for the Cardinal di San Dionigi,

A.D. 1499–1500.

[1] From Rome it was sent to Florence, where it stood for several centuries in the Valfonda gardens, which then belonged to the Riccardi family; with them it afterwards became the property of the Marchese Giuseppe Strozzi, who sold it to Signor Gigli, from whom it was purchased a few years since for the Kensington Museum. See *Decr. Catalogue*, p. 136.

LA PIETA

French ambassador at Rome, who desired to leave behind him a worthy memorial of his residence there.

The Pietà at St. Peter's.

In this admirable group (see Plate I.), the dead body of our Lord lies upon the lap of the Madonna, who supports His head and shoulders with her right arm and hand, while her left is half opened and slightly turned back, with a gesture which carries out the pitying expression of her face. The Christ shows a purity of style, deep feeling, and thorough knowledge of anatomy, combined with a grandeur which Michelangelo drew from himself alone, and bears in the delicate limbs, the clear outline, and the harmonious relation of parts to each other, traces of the lessons which he had learnt in Ghirlandajo's studio. The fleshiness and truthful modelling of the shoulder, the supineness and lassitude of the limbs of Christ, and the lifelessness of the whole body, are points which show the work of a consummate artist. The Madonna is massive but not beautiful, and somewhat heavily draped, and her face is less expressive than her hand; the Romans thought her too young to be the mother of Christ, but Michelangelo answered their criticism like a good Roman Catholic, saying, 'If chaste women long retain their youth, how much more may the immaculate Virgin have thus proved to the world her perpetual purity; while Christ, who took upon Himself the weaknesses and infirmities of our nature, was subject to the usual action of time upon the human frame.'

Jealous of its ascription to Cristoforo Solari, a Lombard sculptor, which he happened to overhear, Michelangelo is said to have shut himself by night into the chapel[1] where it stood, that he might engrave his name upon this group, which amid the countless marbles that crowd the aisles and chapels of St. Peter's, still holds the place of honour, and is indeed by far the finest piece of modern sculpture in Rome.

Madonna and Child at Bruges.

The group of the Madonna and Child at Nôtre Dame de

[1] It stood in the Chapel of St. Petronilla in the old basilica of St. Peter.

Bruges if by Michelangelo, as we are inclined to believe it to be, must have been sculptured at Rome before the Pietà; and not, as generally supposed, after his return to Florence. This supposition does away with the objection that he had too many works
A.D. 1503. in hand at the latter date, to have found time to sculpture so important a work; while its inequalities, and such manifest defects in the Madonna as her disproportionately long neck, and shortness of limb from the knee downwards, as well as the immense size of the Child's head, are accounted for if we consider it to be a juvenile work. The mantle which covers the Virgin's head, whose folds are very similar in arrangement to those about that of the Pietà Madonna, shades her face, which is singularly fresh and pure in expression; the hands are highly finished and beautifully formed; the drapery is admirably arranged, especially about her breast; and the Child who leans against her knee, holding her hand with his right hand, and resting his left upon a book, is carefully and truthfully modelled.

Opinions differ widely about this group, some critics lauding it as one of Michelangelo's finest creations, others believing it to be only a work of his school.[1] As we have said, we

[1] Sir Joshua Reynolds thought it to be a work of Michelangelo's school. It is mentioned in Albert Durer's journal, Easter, 1521, and Passavant's *Reise durch England und Belgium*, p. 363. H. Grimm considers it one of Buonarotti's finest works, and 'as a double flowering of the thought' which inspired the Labouchère picture; he points out the great resemblance between the Christ in the one and the Saint John in the other. He thinks it was sculptured immediately after his return to Florence. Horace Walpole is said to have offered 30,000 florins for it. Vide Grimm's *Leben Michelangelos*, vol. i. p. 230, and note 21 in Appendix; Condivi, p. 16, paragraph 22, ed. folio, 1746; and Vasari, vol. xii. p. 176.

M. de Triqueti (see *Fine Arts Quarterly*, May 1864, p. 266–9) believes that a very fine female head in marble at the South Kensington Museum is Michelangelo's original design for the head of the Madonna at Bruges, and that the group was sculptured by one of his scholars. Heartily as we agree with him in his admiration for the head at South Kensington we think it belongs to a much later period, when the master had adopted his 'maniera terribile.' We should be at a loss to point out any scholar of Michelangelo capable of executing the

agree with neither, and believe it to be an early work of the master, possibly identical with that which he is known to have sold to a Flemish merchant named Moscron, who carried it to Flanders, where it was afterwards set up over an altar built by a certain Pierre Moscron who died at the end of the sixteenth century, and lies buried beneath it. It is true that Vasari and Condivi say that the work sold to the Flemish merchant was a bronze bas-relief, but they may have erred as to its nature. If this supposition appears hazardous, we may adopt the popular tradition, that while on its way to England it was wrecked on the coast of Flanders, and afterwards brought to Bruges.

Vivere qui sancte vultis, discedite Româ;
Omnia hic esse licet, non licet esse probum.

Such was the state of society at Rome during the reign of the iniquitous Pope Alexander VI. Vainly did Savonarola cry aloud from his pulpit at Florence in prophetic words, which were to be fulfilled to the very letter. 'Prepare thyself, O Rome, for great shall be thy punishment; thou shalt be hemmed in with iron, and given up to the sword, to fire and flame. O Rome, thou art sick of a disease "usque ad mortem;" thou hast lost thy health, and God has abandoned thee; thou art sick with sins and with tribulations. Wouldst thou regain thy health? —then leave thy banquets, thy pride, thy ambition, thy luxuries, thy avarice; these are the causes of thy malady, which will bring thee even unto death's door.'[1] A.D. 1492-1503.

Grave even in his youth, and throughout life an enemy to every form of license, we have little doubt that Michelangelo found himself ill at ease in such an atmosphere, and that he left Rome with little regret for Florence, where he almost

finest parts of the group at Bruges, such as the drapery, the hands, and the body of the Child. Even his best pupils, Montelupo and Montorsoli, working under his eye at San Lorenzo, fell far below it in their works.

[1] Sermon of the Easter octave, A.D. 1496. See Appendix, letter A.

Michelangelo leaves Rome, Jan. 5. 1501; contracts for fifteen statuettes with Cardinal Piccolomini.

immediately made a contract with Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius III., to sculpture in three years, for the price of 500 golden ducats, fifteen marble statuettes; of which two were of Christ, and the rest, of Apostles, saints and angels, to bring fitting blocks of marble from Carrara, if such were not to be found in Florence, and not to undertake any other works until they were completed. Although his contract was thus stringent, Michelangelo only partially fulfilled it, being probably occupied more to his advantage or his taste.[1] There are many points about it which are curious, as illustrating the little confidence felt in the conscientiousness of an artist, even of his reputation; such for example as the stipulation 'that the marble shall be new, pure, and without veins; that the Apostles and saints shall be made with fitting draperies, attitudes and gestures, and shall be of that perfection promised by the sculptor, that is to say, better, more perfectly worked, finished, and perfected than the figures *made now-a-days at Rome.*' The two first, when finished, are to be judged by two skilful artists, one appointed by the Cardinal, the other by the sculptor, and if they do not agree, a third is to be added to the number, and the judgment of any two is to be accepted, and if unfavourable, the statues are to be remade, or worked upon until they are perfect.

A letter dated in the year 1511, mentions that Michelangelo had then finished four of these statuettes, representing SS. Peter and Gregory, Pius and James, which are supposed to be those now set about the Piccolomini altar in the Duomo at Siena, but the Arisen Christ, and the two angels, which adorn the Bandini arms near the door of the library, and which have been also supposed to belong to these statuettes, are very evidently not by Michelangelo. A final document shows us that he subsequently finished two others, of whose fate we know nothing.

A.D. 1537.

About the time of his return from Rome, the directors of the

[1] Milanesi, *Doc. Sanesi*, vol. iii. p. 19, No. 6, says it was renewed three years later by the Cardinal's brother. See Appendix, letter B.

Duomo were endeavouring to find some sculptor, who would undertake to make a statue out of a large block of Carrara marble, which had been injured by Agostino di Guccio more than fifty years before, in a vain endeavour to sculpture the statue of a Prophet for the Woollen Merchants' Guild, and had ever since lain neglected at the Opera del Duomo. Knowing that nothing is so unmanageable as a figure badly sketched out in marble, and therefore unwilling to risk the disgrace of failure, all to whom they applied refused but Jacopo Sansavino, who consented to make the attempt, if he were allowed to piece out the block with other bits of marble, to which the directors would probably have agreed, had not Michelangelo, struck with its beauty, and fired with ambition to accomplish what others deemed impossible, proposed to use it without such additions. Having selected David as his subject, he made a sketch,[1] in which the shepherd hero stood with his foot upon the head of Goliath, but the shape of the marble not admitting of such an action, he designed the wax model now in the Casa Buonarotti, according to which he sculptured the statue as we now see it. The marble was set up on end, and enclosed, so that the sculptor need not be interfered with in his work, which was far advanced in the month of February 1503, and ready to be given up to the Signory, who had purchased it from the merchants of the Woollen Guild, within a year after that date. Though trammelled in a way especially irksome to an artist so free in expression of thought, Michelangelo showed in this statue no other sign of the conditions under which he worked, save in the meagreness of its forms, which we soon forget in our admiration for the grandeur and bold modelling of the figure, its ease of attitude, and the collected, watchful expression of the face. Giant himself, David is a match for any Goliath; too much so,

The David. Sept. 1501.

[1] Belonged to Mariette; *vide* observations upon Condivi, p. 70. Now in the Louvre. Charles Clement, *Michel Ange B.*, p. 68.

perhaps, as a representation of the youth, who strong only in the grace of God, went out with a sling in his hand, to do battle against the champion of the Philistines.

When the statue was completed, all the great artists in the city met together in the Court of the Opera del Duomo, to give their opinions as to the most suitable site for it. Messer Francesco, first herald of the Signory, stated that in his opinion the two most eligible places were the court of the Palazzo Pubblico, then occupied by Donatello's bronze David, and the Ringhiera or platform in front of the building, where his Judith had long stood; and advised the removal of the latter, 'as it did not seem to him good, that a group representing a man-slayer should be left in front of the Magisterial Palace of a people, whose emblems were the Cross and the Lily.'

The architects Monciatto and Giuliano di Sangallo, the painters Perugino, Lionardo da Vinci, Cosimo Roselli, Sandro Botticelli Filippino Lippi, Francesco Granacci, Pier di Cosimo, and Lorenzo di Credi, and the sculptor Andrea della Robbia, expressed various opinions; some advising the palace court, some the Ringhiera, and some the Loggia de' Lanzi, where it would be protected by a roof from the inclemency of the weather. The goldsmith Salvestro having finally suggested that the choice had better be left to Michelangelo, he decided in favour of the Ringhiera; the Judith
A.D. 1504. of Donatello was accordingly removed to the Loggia de' Lanzi, and at the end of May the David was moved out into the Piazza del Duomo, whence it took thirty or forty men four days to drag it to the Piazza della Signoria.

As soon as it was set upon its pedestal the Gonfaloniere Pier Soderini came to see it, and after expressing his great admiration for the work, suggested that the nose seemed to him too large; hearing this, Michelangelo gravely mounted on a ladder, and after pretending to work for a few moments, during which he constantly let fall some of the marble dust which he had taken up in his

pocket, turned with a questioning and doubtless a slightly sarcastic expression in his face, to the critic, who responded, 'Bravo! bravo! you have given it life.'[1]

Three years before, the government of the republic received a letter from the Florentine ambassador to the French Court, stating that the Maréchal de Gié had, with professions of great affection for Florence, expressed a desire to have a copy of Donatello's bronze David made at his own cost, 'though,' adds the ambassador, 'it is my opinion that in the bottom of his heart he expects it to be made a present to him.'[2] Although the Signory had already given twelve marble busts to the Maréchal di Gié, as a recompense for his services to the Florentine ambassadors in their negotiations with France, they were afraid to turn a deaf ear to this hint, looking as they did upon French support as absolutely necessary to save them from Piero de' Medici, who, aided by Cæsar Borgia, was constantly striving to re-establish his authority.[3]

A.D. 1501.

Copy of Donatello's David in bronze.

They therefore promised him the David, and gave the commission for it to Michelangelo, who had done something towards its fulfilment in the year 1502. 'We hurry him as fast as we can,' says Soderini, in a letter to the Florentine ambassador; 'and

[1] A stone thrown from the top of the Palace in 1527 against some partisans of the Medici who were striving to enter it by force, broke the left arm of the David. The fragments were picked up by Vasari and a sculptor named Cecchino, who afterwards gave them to the Duke Cosimo I., by whom they were restored (Gualandi, 4th series, p. 98; Vasari, vol. xii. p. 175). Vasari says, that Michelangelo received only 400 scudi for his work. Gualandi suggests that this must have been over and above the monthly salary of six scudi paid him for two years by the Operai del Duomo (Vasari, p. 49, nota 5, 4th series; Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. ii. pp. 454, 455).

[2] Gaye, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 52.

[3] In 1501 Louis XII. ordered Cæsar Borgia to quit the Florentine territory, into which he had so far advanced as greatly to disquiet the republic; and a year later sent French troops into Tuscany, who suppressed the rebellion instigated by Vitelozzo Vitelli (one of Borgia's condottieri) in many important towns and districts, forced him to retire, and gave back all their lost territory to the Florentines.

if he keep his word, it will be ready on the fête of St. John; but it is impossible to speak with certainty, as the promises of *such people* are not to be relied on.' And so it turned out, for Michelangelo, having much else to occupy him, proceeded slowly with his work; and as the Maréchal soon after fell into disgrace, the affair of the David was left 'in statu quo' for several years, when it was again revived by the French treasurer Robertêt, who taking a high tone about the important sums owed by the Florentine republic to France, insisted that they should be immediately paid. The Florentine ambassador, having vainly endeavoured to treat about the matter with the king, whom he describes in his despatch as 'governed by others, and unwilling to take any trouble,' turned to the treasurer, who talked of the Florentines as ungrateful, and hinted that the affair could not be arranged, unless the statue of David, which they had promised to the Maréchal de Gié in his days of prosperity, and had forgotten to send after his fall from power, was presented to him.

The statue was indeed cast, but not finished, and, though Soderini feared lest anyone but Michelangelo, (who was then at Rome painting the roof of the Sistine Chapel,) would injure it, he caused it to be completed by Benedetto da Rovezzano,[1] and sent it to France at the end of 1508.

Robertêt, whose relations with the Florentine ambassadors had greatly softened since they had acceded to his demand, expressed his delight, and proposed to place it in the court of his château at Blois, hinting that a bronze pedestal would not come amiss, which Soderini had the spirit to refuse.[2] As no one knows what has become of this bronze, it seems probable that it was melted down during some one of the convulsions to which France is periodically subject, nor would its history be worth recounting, did it not show how great kingdoms sometimes look kindly upon small republics, when men in power are open to bribery.

[1] *Prospetto Cronologico*, Vasari, vol. xii. p. 350.

[2] Gaye, vol. xi. p. 108, and Charles Clement, *op. cit.* p. 73.

April 24, 1503. Michelangelo contracts to make statues of the Twelve Apostles.

The year before his David was completed, Michelangelo entered into an agreement with the Guild of the Wool Merchants to make twelve statues of the Apostles, one of which was to be finished every year, and he was then to receive its value, and the twelfth part of ownership in a house which had been built for him in the Borgo Pinti by the directors of the Duomo. The only result of this commission was the statue of St. Matthew, now in the courtyard of the Academy at Florence, upon whose base is an inscription, stating that it is placed there 'for the instruction of all sculptors; that all may admire the powerful genius of that divine artist, the first in modern times who rose from the material to the ideal, and here seems with his chisel about to free from the marble which conceals it, the figure which he had already conceived in his mind.' No better example exists of Michelangelo's boldness in blocking out a figure in marble. When we look at it, we can well understand what Blaise de Vignéron means when he tells us that, when the sculptor was more than sixty years old, 'he attacked the marble with such a fury and impetus, as to cause me to fear that he would break it in pieces; with one blow he knocked off bits three or four fingers wide, always following accurately the line marked out, for had he entrenched in the least upon it, he would have ruined the statue. In a quarter of an hour he knocked more pieces off the hardest marble, than three young stonecutters could have done in thrice the time; a thing which none but those who have seen it can credit.'[1]

The St. Matthew.

A.D. 1503–1504.

While working upon the David, Michelangelo made two unfinished reliefs of the Madonna and Child, one of which belongs to the Royal Academy at London, the other to the Uffizi.[2]

[1] *Les Images, ou Tableaux de platte Peinture des deux Philostrates, sophistes grecs*, p. 855. Vasari, vol. xii. p. 176.

[2] That at the Royal Academy was begun for Taddeo Taddei, and purchased by Sir George Beaumont, who took it to England; the other, given by Frà Miniato Pitti to the historian Guicciardini, was purchased for the Uffizi in 1823.

There is in both much of his wonted grandeur of style, with little extravagance in attitude or exaggeration in muscular development.[1] Not so however in the hard, crude, and mannered picture of the Holy Family, painted at this time, now in the Tribune of the Uffizi, which is perhaps the least pleasing among his works.

Never did Michelangelo show himself greater than in the world-renowned cartoon of the Battle of Pisa, which he began in the following year and which, until its wanton destruction several years later,[2] divided the suffrages of all who understood art with the Battle of the Standard by Lionardo da Vinci, becoming with it the chief object of study to all the young artists in Florence.

Soon after he had finished it Julius II. invited him to come to Rome and design a monument to himself, which the Pope intended should surpass in magnificence any erected since that of Artemisia to Mausolus.

Pope Julius II.

This Pope, whose name henceforth becomes intimately connected with that of Michelangelo, was the third who ruled at the Vatican during the year 1503. In the month of August, the scandalous reign of Alexander VI. came to a close, and was followed by that of Pius III., the Cardinal Piccolomini for whom Michelangelo contracted to make fifteen statuettes for Siena, who dying after a few days, was succeeded by Pope Julius II. The impatience of opposition and fiery character of this pontiff are well hit off in a pasquinade of the time, entitled 'Julius exclusus,' in which the Pope having applied to St. Peter for admittance to

[1] 'Linked in some measure with his pictorial brethren, and having no space for any "tour de force" in the position of either mother or child, Michelangelo is not exclusively himself in these reliefs, but stands forth rather as some crowning midway influence, in which Ghirlandajo on the one hand, and Andrea del Sarto on the other, seem united.' (Review of Harford's *Life of Michel Angelo, Quarterly Review*, April 1858.)

[2] Vasari (vol. x. p. 296) accuses Bandinelli of this atrocious act; but for reasons which are given in that artist's life (*vide* ch. iv. vol. ii.) we do not believe him guilty.

heaven, is forced to give an account of his deeds done in the body, and as the Apostle refuses to recognise him, threatens to besiege the gates unless he is at once allowed to pass. He was a Papal Mars, and was alluded to as such in the verses inscribed upon the statue of that god, which was set up in the theatre of the Palazzo Chigi during the fêtes held at the coronation of Leo X.[1]

According to his ideas, the Church was to be militant and triumphant through the irresistible argûments of cold steel and cannon-balls. Though he was no monster like Alexander VI., nor selfishly bound up in the aggrandisement of his own family like his successors Leo X. and Clement VII., his public acts were not always in accordance with Christ's doctrines, nor was his private character without blemish. His dominant aims were to enlarge the patrimony of St. Peter, and to free Italy from that foreign sway which has always been her curse, and without whose cessation she can never hold her rightful place among the great nations of the earth.

The points of contact between such a man and Michelangelo were so numerous, that we cannot wonder at the friendship which, despite frequent and rude shocks, never ceased to exist between

[1] Leo X.'s reign was referred to as that of Pallas, and that of Alexander VI. as that of Venus in these same verses:—

'Olim habuit Cypris sua tempora : tempora Mavors
Olim habuit: nunc sua tempora Pallas habet.'

Which are thus translated by Roscoe (vol. i. p. 296)—

'Once Venus ruled, then Mars usurp'd the throne,
Now Pallas calls these favoured seats her own.'

To which Antonio di San Marino (who lived near the Palazzo Chigi) replied by putting a statue of Venus over the door of his residence with this inscription:

'Mars fuit; est Pallas; Cypris semper ero.'

'Once Mars presided ; now Pallas reigns;
But Venus yet her power retains.'

(Gournérie, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 110.)

them. Equally interesting to each other, as the only two beings who dared to resist their separate and indomitable wills, the Pope entrenched in his power and the Artist in his pride, were like two skilful generals, who admire each other's tactics, and when the fight is over give way to mutual esteem, and become fast friends.

A.D. 1505. Upon his arrival at Rome, Michelangelo was consulted by the Pope as to the best site for the proposed monument, whose cost was estimated at from 10,000 to 16,000 ducats, and by the advice of Giuliano di Sangallo, the papal architect, he selected the new Tribune, planned and begun by Pope Nicholas V. in 1450, as an adjunct to St. Peter's, which was first to be finished at the expense of 200,000 crowns. Sangallo, however, on reconsidering the matter, concluded that such a monument would be out of character with the venerable Basilica, and advised that a new chapel should be built expressly for it. This idea ultimately led to the plan, never sufficiently to be regretted, of destroying and rebuilding the church itself, which was accepted by the Pope in opposition to the wishes of his cardinals and of most of his subjects, who mourned over the destruction of the venerable Basilica, so rich in hallowed associations, and in statues, paintings, mosaics and tombs.[1]

Project for rebuilding St. Peter's.

The exhausted papal treasury being totally inadequate to the demand made upon it for the execution of this gigantic scheme, it was found necessary to increase its revenues by the sale of indulgences to that immense extent which roused the opposition of Luther; and thus the very means taken to build one of the most splendid churches the world has ever seen, caused the religion to which it was consecrated to be shaken to its foundations.[2]

[1] Seventy-three popes were buried at St. Peter's between 526 and 1[illegible]. See the list given by Gregorovius, *op. cit.*

[2] 'Thus the monument to Pope Julius, which suggested [illegible] the Old Basilica, was the remote cause of the Reformat[illegible]' *Michelangelo*, p. 30, ed. Bohn.

Vasari and Condivi's descriptions of Michelangelo's plan for this monument coincide with his apparently original pen-and-ink sketch at the Uffizi.[1] It was intended to be quadrangular in form, and so placed that all four sides should be isolated. Its two stories were raised upon a base; the lower of these was adorned with niches for statues, separated by terminal figures, below which were placed statues of the Liberal Arts, bound like prisoners, in token of the inactivity into which they were forced by the death of their great patron, or, according to another interpretation, typical of the provinces which he had brought into obedience to the Church. At the four corners of the upper story were placed colossal statues, (eight according to the sketch, four only according to Vasari and Condivi,) representing Moses, St. Paul, Active and Contemplative Life; and in the centre was a sepulchral chamber open at the sides, intended to contain the body of the deceased Pontiff. On the top stood two figures bearing the marble effigy of the Pope in an open sarcophagus upon their shoulders; the one, Cybele, genius of the Earth, weeping that she had lost such a son; and the other, Cielo or Heaven, smiling at the acquisition of his soul.

Design for the tomb of Julius II.

The richest architectural decorations, and as many as fifty statues, were intended to adorn this unrivalled mausoleum. Pope Julius was so impatient to see it begun, that he despatched Michelangelo to Carrara to obtain the necessary marbles, a portion of which were sent to Rome, and the rest to Florence, where workmen were more readily obtained, and work was cheaper. Six months[2] were thus wasted by the greatest sculptor of modern times in superintending the quarrying of marble, a task which must have fretted his proud spirit not a little. 'One day,' says Condivi, 'having ascended a mountain which commanded a widely extended prospect over the Mediterranean, he was moved

Michelangelo sent to Carrara, Nov. 12, 1505.

[1] From the collection of P. Mariette.

[2] And not eight as generally supposed. Vide MS. letter in British Museum, vol. xxiii. p. 208, in Appendix, letter C.

by the sight of the huge blocks of marble lying around him to plan the erection of a colossal figure, which could be seen by mariners far out at sea.' But press of work, and the necessity of returning to Rome, caused him to abandon this very grand idea, and the ancient quarries of Luni were left without a presiding deity.

A.D. 1506. In March Michelangelo was again in Rome, where the marbles which he had despatched from Carrara encumbered the Piazza of St. Peter's. In one of his letters he thus relates the story of the monument up to this period, and tells us of his first quarrel with the Pope:[1]—

'In the first years of Pope Julius—I think it was during the second of my residence with him—after I had made many drawings for his monument, one pleased him, and I agreed to execute it for the sum of 10,000 ducats; and as I needed 1,000 ducats to purchase marbles, he had them paid to me, I think through the Salviati at Florence, and sent me to Carrara for the marbles. I went, brought them and my workmen to Rome, and began to work upon the base and upon the figures with many assistants, some of whom are still living; but after eight or nine months,[2] the Pope changed his mind, and did not wish to go on with the enterprise;[3] and I, finding myself obliged to spend a great deal of money, and receiving none from his Holiness, complained to him.'

Continuing his narrative in a letter to the Bishop of Sinigaglia,

[1] MS. British Museum, vol. xxiii. p. 208–9. Fogli di ricordi, &c. See Appendix, letter C.

[2] During this time Michelangelo occupied a studio connected with the Vatican by a temporary bridge, by which the Pope could visit him at his pleasure, and there blocked out the Moses, the Two Prisoners, and the Victory, for his monument.

[3] At the end of the letter to the Bishop of Sinigaglia (vide Ciampi, *Harford*, vol. ii. p. 6, Appendix v.), Michelangelo says that all his quarrels with the Pope were excited by Bramante and Raphael, who, to ruin him, induced the Pope not to go on with his monument, by suggesting that it was an unlucky thing for a man to build his own tomb during his lifetime. This letter is dated October 24, 1542.

he says:—'I went one morning to speak to the Pope about money matters, and was ordered away by a groom. A Lucchese Bishop who happened to be present asked the groom if he knew who I was; to which the fellow answered, "I beg your pardon, Sir, such are my orders." Hearing this I went home, and wrote to the Pope; "Blessed Father, as I was chased from your palace this morning, by order of your Holiness, I beg leave to inform you, that if you have further need of me, you will have to seek me elsewhere than at Rome." I sent this letter to Messer Agostino Scalco, who gave it to the Pope, and I called a carpenter named Cosimo, who lived with me and worked in the house, and a stone cutter who also lived with me and who is still alive, and said to them, "Go, fetch a Jew, and sell everything in this house to him, and follow me." I then took post and travelled towards Florence, and the Pope having received my letter sent five horsemen after me, who overtook me at Poggibonsi about three o'clock at night, with a letter saying: "Under pain of our displeasure, return to Rome as soon as you have read this." The cavaliers wished me to write an answer as proof that they had found me, so I wrote to the Pope, that whenever he was ready to carry out our agreement I would return, but that otherwise he need never hope to see me.'

During the next five months the Pope wrote three times, demanding that his recreant sculptor should be given up to him, and in his last letter promised that if he came back he should be in no ways molested.[1] But Michelangelo still refused, and Soderini wrote to his brother, the Cardinal of Volterra, that nothing short of a letter written by the Cardinal of Pavia to the Signory, containing positive promises of pardon and safety, would calm the terrors of the fugitive, and induce him to return.[2] July 8, 1506.

Knowing the impetuosity of Julius, and his impatience of opposition, the Signory began to fear that they should be obliged

[1] *Lett. Pitt.*, vol. iii. p. 195.

[2] Gaye, vol. ii. p. 85.

to go to war on Michelangelo's account if he remained any longer in Florence; they therefore charged Soderini, as his friend to tell him, that having done what the King of France would not have dared to do, he had better go and make his peace as best he could.

Aug. 27, 1506. While Michelangelo was deliberating whether he should go to Constantinople, where the Sultan wished him to build a bridge across the Bosphorus to Pera, the Pope put himself at the head of his troops, and marched against Perugia and Bologna, which had revolted against his authority. Having received the submission of Perugia, and taken its Lord Gian Paolo Baglioni into his pay, he visited Urbino,[1] where he was splendidly entertained by Duke Guidobaldo, and then halting at Cesena, summoned Bologna to surrender, and ordered the people under pain of excommunication to open their gates, and give up their Lord, Giovanni Bentivoglio, with his family.

Deserted by Louis XII., King of France, the leaders lost courage, abandoned their elaborate scheme of defence, and made good their escape, leaving the citizens to receive the Pope, who entered the city in triumph on Martinmas Day, A.D. 1506. He scattered among the people a sum of 4,000 golden crowns, stamped with a legend describing Bologna as freed by him from her tyrant; and was repaid by the acclamations of the fickle populace, who showed their zeal in his service by destroying the beautiful Bentivoglio Palace, with the treasures of art which it contained.

This complete success put the Pope into great good humour, and as he had conceived the idea of erecting a statue of himself at Bologna, and wanted Michelangelo to model it, he authorised the Cardinal of Pavia to open negociations with him on the subject, which he did by a letter to the Signory, who immediately despatched the artist with their answer. Soderini also sent by

[1] Dennistoun's *Dukes of Urbino*, vol. ii. pp. 37–39.

him a letter to his brother, in which he says, 'We certify him to be an excellent youth and at the head of his profession in Italy, perhaps even in the world;' adding, with a just appreciation of his character, 'he is one of those men who can be induced to do anything if he be caressed and kindly treated. Be affectionate to him and favour him, and he will do wonders.'[1]

Pope Julius looked like a thundercloud when Michelangelo at length stood in his presence; and there is no knowing how the interview might have ended, had not an officious Monsignore brought down the storm upon his own head, by remarking that he was sure Michelangelo had sinned in ignorance, as the knowledge of such persons was entirely confined to their profession.

Statue of Julius II. at Bologna.

In the letter which we have already quoted, Michelangelo gives the following account of his reconciliation with the Pope, and of the casting of his statue:—'I was obliged to go and ask the Pope's pardon at Bologna, where he kept me nearly two years to make his seated statue in bronze, about six braccia in height; and this was our agreement: when he asked me about the expense, I told him that bronze-casting neither is nor has been my profession; that I thought it would cost about 1,000 gold ducats to cast it, but that I could not guarantee success; to which he answered, "Cast it until it does succeed, and you shall have as much money as you need;" and sending for Messer Antonio Maria da Legnaja, he ordered him to pay me 1,000 ducats. I was obliged to cast it twice.'[2]

Speaking of the unsuccessful result of their first casting, in a letter to his brother, dated July 6,[3] he says: 'As half the metal did not melt, the figure was only completed as far as the waist; wherefore I was obliged, before recasting it, to pull the furnace to pieces.' On November 10 he writes that the second casting has succeeded, but that the statue will not be completed for a month.

[1] Gaye, vol. ii. pp. 91–92.

[2] Vide Appendix, letter C.

[3] MS. British Museum. *Letter to Buonarotto di Lodovico*, vol. xxiii. p. 141.

Here are his own words to prove how poorly he was recompensed for his long labour and anxiety:—'I can prove that I spent about three hundred ducats, that I employed many assistants, and that I gave thirty ducats a month, besides his expenses, to Messer Bernardino, Master of Artillery to the Signory of Florence, who served me for several months. But enough! Having with great trouble at last set the statue up in its place, I found that my two years' labour had profited me four ducats and a half. Wherefore, as I received but a thousand ducats from Pope Julius, I consider that I might justly demand from him a thousand more.'[1]

Before he left Bologna the Pope saw the model, and observing the position of the right hand, asked Michelangelo whether it was raised in menace or in blessing; to which he answered, 'Menace to the rebellious, Holy Father.' 'Put a sword in the left hand,' said the Pope, 'instead of a book; I was never given to letters.'

Feb. 21, 1508. After the statue was cast, it was placed over the central doorway of the Basilica of St. Petronius, where it remained until Bentivoglio and his partisans, with the main body of the French, A.D. 1511. re-entered Bologna, when the fickle populace, who had so shortly before destroyed the Palazzo Bentivoglio, and hailed Julius as a liberator, threw it down and dashed it to pieces.[2]

Michelangelo returns to Rome, A.D. 1508. In the spring of this same year Michelangelo returned to Rome,[3] when as he tells us in the letter so often cited,[4] 'The Pope did not wish me to go on with his monument, but desired that I should paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, which I agreed to do with few figures, simply, for three thousand ducats, including all expenses. After I had made some designs, it seemed to me

[1] See Appendix, letter C.

[2] The fragments were afterwards given to Alphonso, Duke of Ferrara, in payment for artillery which he had furnished to the Bolognese, and melted into a cannon, which the Duke called his Julius.

[3] In March, 1508, Michelangelo was in Florence, and in May in Rome, occupied with the cartoons for the roof of the Sistine Chapel.

[4] See Appendix, letter C.

that it would turn out but a poor thing; wherefore he made another contract with me, which included the paintings below, and allowed me to paint whatever I wished on the ceiling, which made the price about double that originally agreed upon.'

The project of turning Michelangelo into a fresco painter was, we are told, suggested by Bramante, who wished to ruin him by making him undertake a task for which he knew that Michelangelo considered himself unfit. How little he knew his own untried powers, and how mistaken his enemies were in their estimate of his mighty genius, was triumphantly proved when, after eighteen months, Michelangelo yielded to the Pope's impatience, and on the morning of All Saints' Day, exhibited in an unfinished state to him and his court the greatest masterpiece of modern art.[1] The poetry of Dante, the eloquence of Savonarola, and, above all, the study of the Holy Scriptures, had borne fruit in his mind, which gave his hand power to depict those sibyls and prophets, who sit as if commenting upon the great drama of humanity while its opening scenes pass before their eyes, and brooding over events still hidden in the future.

Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.

A.D. 1509.

A letter from Sebastiano del Piombo, written from Rome to Michelangelo at Florence,[2] proves that his own statement, that he did not again leave Rome till after the Pope's death, is incorrect. Very likely he went home to rest after four years of incessant labour, which had greatly affected his sight. A remark of the Pope, quoted by Sebastiano del Piombo in this letter, 'that he (Michelangelo) is a terrible fellow, with whom there is no possibility of getting on,' would lead us to suppose that another quarrel had previously taken place between them; for though Condivi assures us that the Pope paid him more attentions, and exhibited more jealousy of feeling about him, than about any

Feb. 20, 1518.

[1] Begun May 10, 1508. The scaffolding was still up in 1512, and in February, 1513, when Julius died, it was not yet opened to the public.

[2] In a letter discovered and first published by Seb. Ciampi, p. 3.

other person who approached him, yet like flint and steel, they never came into collision without producing fire.

Although his superstitious fears kept him from finishing the monument during his life, Julius ordered in his will that the plan should be carried out on a somewhat smaller scale; and immediately after his death, his testamentary executor, Lorenzo Pucci (afterwards Cardinal Santiquattro), and his nephew, Cardinal Aginensis, caused Michelangelo to make a new design, and thus opened the second act of the 'Tragedy of the Sepulchre,' which ended no better than the first—indeed much worse, owing to the malice of certain persons, who stained his character with an infamy, from which he with difficulty purged himself after many years.

Workmen were summoned from Florence, but hardly had he recommenced his long-interrupted labours, when a new taskmaster appeared in Pope Leo X., whose mind was too full of projects for the aggrandisement of his own family to allow him to take an interest in carrying out the schemes of his predecessor. Desiring to erect a façade to the Church of San Lorenzo at Florence, in which many members of his family were buried, Pope Leo demanded designs for it from the two Sansavinos, Sangallo, Raphael, and the reluctant Michelangelo. As Raphael was his especial favourite, it seems strange that he did not select his design, instead of forcing the commission upon Michelangelo, who was so bent upon finishing the monument of Pope Julius that he is said to have wept when compelled to depart for Florence. The Pope tried to comfort him by promising that he should be allowed to work upon the statues for the monument at the same time with the façade; and permitted him to cause marble for both to be excavated at Carrara, where he was obliged to spend the better part of six years.

Project for erecting the façade of San Lorenzo. 1515.

A.D. 1516–1521. Contract for marbles at Carrara.

In 1516 he made an agreement with Francesco Pellicia at Carrara, to furnish him with nineteen pieces of marble for statues, to be sketched out so far as shall seem advisable to himself, and

advanced him a hundred golden ducats on account. But Pope Leo, being advised of this contract, obliged him to take back his money, and occupy himself exclusively, in excavating columns for the façade of San Lorenzo. Furthermore, having heard that the marbles of the Monte Altissimo above Seravezza were equally A.D. 1517. good with those of Carrara, the Pope ordered him to take them from that quarry, to approach which he was obliged to spend many months in constructing a road.

Thence he extracted six columns, only one of which ever reached Florence; two were left upon the sea-beach, and the others upon the mountain side,[1] where they furnish food for sad reflection upon the waste of time and genius caused by the obstinate selfishness of a Pope, whose patronage of the arts was prompted solely by ignoble motives.

It is indeed grievous that five years in the best part of the life of an artist, such as the world may never see again, should have been thus thrown away in travelling backwards and forwards between Florence, Carrara and Seravezza; in building a road which any engineer of common capacity was equally capable of constructing; and in superintending the excavation of a few marble columns which were never destined to be used, and which might have been quarried under the eye of some master workman, whose time was of no value to future generations. There seems

[1] The deserted quarry in the mountains above Seravezza, whence Michelangelo is said to have extracted these columns, is called La Vincarella. It lies to the right below La Falcoraja, the modern quarry. See Appendix, letter D. In a MS. letter (British Museum) Michel Angelo says: 'A dì sei di Febbrajo seguente (1517) tornai ovvero giunse a Firenze (da Roma) e a dì 25, ebbi di Jacopo Salviati 800 ducati per parte di Papa Leone per detta opera, e andai a Carrara, e mutandomi i patti fatti prima dei marmi di detta opera, andai a cavare a Pietra Santa' (the Seravezza quarries lie above Pietra Santa), 'e feci vi l' avviamento che oggi si vede fatto, che mai più innanzi v' era stato cavato, e attesi a cavare per detta opera insino al dì venti di Marzo 1518, avendo a ordine, ovvero bozzate, sei colonne d' undici braccia e mezzo l' una per detta opera, e molti altri marmi come ancora si vede.'

little doubt that the intriguers at Rome, headed by Bramante, influenced Pope Leo to keep Michelangelo out of the way. The ceiling of the Sistine Chapel had proved to them, that to propose any new task to a man of such genius only gave him a fresh opportunity of proving his superiority, so that to waste his time in the marble quarries where he could in no way advance himself, or increase his glory, was an admirable expedient.

Intrigues at Rome against Michelangelo.

Though Michelangelo says, 'All the discords which arose between me and Pope Julius were caused by the envy of Bramante and Raphael,' it would be unjust to accuse the latter of having been mixed in these intrigues, excepting in so far as he allowed his name to be used by injudicious partisans, who fanned the natural rivalry between him and Michelangelo, losing no opportunity of exalting the one at the expense of the other. Being a hundred to one against the sombre solitary Florentine who had but one friend at court, Sebastiano del Piombo, the conspirators first played upon the superstitious fears of Pope Julius, by reminding him that it was inauspicious for a man to build his own monument, and afterwards induced Pope Leo to keep him employed far from the scene of their operations. 'The party which was hostile to Michelangelo was not extinct,' says Ciampi, 'in the reign of Paul III., but continued during that of Julius III. and Pope Marcellus; ceasing not to work against him, in one way or another, from about his thirtieth to his eightieth year.'[1]

In 1517 he appears to have been for a short time at Rome, as Sebastiano del Piombo, mentioning the completion of his picture of the Raising of Lazarus two years later, says that Michelangelo saw him begin it at that time. He must also have been at Florence in the same year, since his name, as one of the members of the Medicean Academy, is attached to a memorial praying Pope Leo X. to cause the body of Dante to be brought

[1] Ciampi, *op. cit.* p. 43.

from Ravenna, with these words: 'I, Michelangelo, sculptor, beg the same from your Holiness, offering myself to make a fitting monument of the Divine Poet, to be set up in an honourable place in this city.'[1] He offers to make a monument to Dante.

One year before the Pope's death, he began to build the sacristy of San Lorenzo, and the Cappella dei Depositi, and during one of his short visits to Rome in the same year, began the statue of Christ, now in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, for Messer Metello Vari, which was finished by a Florentine sculptor named Federigo Frizzi.[2] Though skilfully modelled and highly finished, it is one of the least interesting and most mannered of Michelangelo's works. Its attitude is affected, and we find in it none of the tenderness and depth of feeling which we look for in the treatment of such a subject. Wearied and harassed, and unable to find that repose necessary for the elaboration of a great work of art, it is not to be wondered at that the great sculptor here failed to rise to the full height of his power. Dec. 1520. Statue of Christ at the Minerva.

In the first month of the year 1522, Adrian van Trusen, the son of a brewer at Utrecht, the modest, pious friend of Erasmus, learned in philosophy and belles lettres, and an elegant Latin poet, was called to fill the Papal throne under the name of Adrian IV. A more complete contrast than that which he presented to his predecessor cannot be conceived. That pomp, which had been the life of Leo, was hateful to Adrian, who declared 'that a cortége of paralytics was more grateful to his eyes than one of gorgeously dressed courtiers;' who called antique statues idols, and the church ceremonies pagan; who turned out of the Vatican the crowd of servants, with and without titles, which encumbered its courts and antechambers, contenting himself with the services of one old servant; and whose dislike Pope Adrian IV.

[1] Original in the Uffizi Archives, published in Gori's *Annotations to Condivi*, p. 114.

[2] *Prosp. Chr.* p. 360.

of responsibility, and unwillingness to reign, are summed up in the epitaph which he wrote for himself:—

> Hadrianus hic situs est, qui nihil sibi infelicius in vita, quam quod imperaret, duxit.

During his short pontificate of twenty-two months, all Pope Leo's grand schemes were arrested. Architects, sculptors and painters, as well as the tribe of dandy scholars, whose well-drilled tongues lisped Latin, elegant as that of Horace, vanished from Rome, as if it were infected by the plague. None rejoiced but Michelangelo, who, once more his own master, and free to follow the dictates of his conscience, set to work at Florence upon the statues for the monument of Pope Julius, for which while at Carrara he had secretly obtained some blocks of marble. But the
A.D. 1523. death of Pope Adrian soon put an end to this interval of peace, as his successor, Clement VII. (Giulio de' Medici), again forced him to work for two years at San Lorenzo, after calling him to Rome to consult about finishing the works there.

He was incessantly tormented after his arrival at Rome by the Duke of Urbino, who accused him of idling away his time in Florence, instead of working upon the monument to his uncle Julius II., and was at the same time harassed by the refusal of the Pope to allow him to fulfil that obligation, which he con-
Third contract for the tomb of Pope Julius, April, 1532. sidered sacred. It was not till seven years after, that a third contract was made,[1] by which the sculptor bound himself to work eight months in the year for the Duke, and the remaining four

[1] An interesting letter from Sebastiano del Piombo (British Museum MS. vol. xxiii. 129, No. 7) informs us that he was the chief agent in the making of this contract, and that through his firmness he induced the Duke's unwilling agent to cancel the preceding one. In it he tells 'come nostro Papa Clemente mi ha fatto piombatore; ed ammi fatto frate in loco di Fra Mariano, di modo che se me vedesti fratte, credo certo ve ne la rideresti. Io son il più bel fratazzo di Roma.' The letter is very affectionate, and expressive of the writer's great pleasure in having made an arrangement about the monument, which he thinks will tranquillise Michelangelo's mind. It contains an account of Fra Sebastiano's interview with Messer Hieronimo Ostaccoli, the Duke's agent, who wished to have new designs sent to him; but Fra Sebastiano refused, saying, that this

for the Pope. This contract was the cause of much future trouble, as Michelangelo in order to make himself appear still more strongly bound to serve the Duke, consented with culpable weakness, to allow his agent to say that he had received several thousand scudi over and above the sum which had been paid him;[1] never intending, however, that the accounts should be thus falsified in writing, which being done to his infinite displeasure, furnished his enemies with a powerful handle against him. By this new contract he was bound to finish the six largest statues himself; to cause the others to be made under his direction; and to erect the monument in the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli. As he was obliged before making a new design to see the statues he had sketched out at Florence, as well as those at Rome (which were at the time submerged by an inundation of the river), some delay occurred; in reference to which the agent of the Duke

was no way to finish the matter, and that the Duke and the heirs of Pope Julius must agree to destroy the first contract, and make a new one, by which Michelangelo should be bound to furnish a work of the value of the money which he had already received, to be completed in three years, spending upon it 2,000 ducats. To this, he adds, Messer Hieronimo consents, 'e li pare molta bella cosa, che questa opera la vogliate fare senza che ben spendano un quattrino.'

[2] It is Condivi who tells us of this agreement, and who states that Michelangelo meant it should subsist in words between the Duke, the Pope, and himself; but the agent wrote it into the contract, and added 1,000 ducats more than was agreed upon. In the letter published by Ciampi, Michelangelo says: 'Gianmaria di Madama imbasciatore fu col notaiò, et fecilo distendere a suo modo, in modo che quando io tornai, e che io lo riscossi, trovaivi su per mille ducati che non si era rimasto. Io giuro che non so d' avere avuti i danari che detto contratto dicie, et che disse Gianmaria che trovava ch' io haveva havuti. Ma poniamo che io gli habbia havuti, perchè io gli 'o confessati,' &c. &c. According to the account kept by the Duke's agent, he had not received a third of the stipulated sum. Paul III. paid him 1,200 golden scudi, equal to twice that amount in silver; so that, taking into account his expenses, and the payments promised but not made him by Pope Julius, as compared with what had been given him in anticipation, instead of debtor to the Duke, he was his creditor for 5,000 scudi. The letter published by Ciampi from the MS. in the Magliabecchiana Library, No. 401, classe 8, is addressed to a Monsignore, perhaps Messer Carlo Rufini; 'cameriere e scalco di Papa Paolo III.' and is not in Michelangelo's handwriting.

wrote to beg that his Excellency would himself write a few soothing words to Michelangelo, 'because,' he says, 'I am told that this man will be so softened if made aware of your kindly disposition towards him, that he will be ready to work miracles.'

Uninfluenced by his plea of obligation to the Duke, Pope Clement, in the last year of his life, insisted upon Michelangelo's designing a cartoon for the Last Judgment, which, with the works carried on at San Lorenzo, filled up his time during the
Sept. 1534. latter years of this Pope's reign. With the death of Clement and the election of Paul III. came the same hopes and the same disappointments as between those of Julius and Leo, and of Adrian and Clement. Again Michelangelo hoped to be left in peace at Florence, and again he was called to Rome, forced to make a new contract with the Duke of Urbino, and to consent
A.D. 1534. to work in the Sistine Chapel. To his remonstrances Paul replied angrily, 'For thirty years I have had this desire, and now that I am Pope I will not give it up. I will destroy the contract, and am determined that in any case you shall serve me.' In pursuance of this intent, he went one day with ten cardinals, to Michelangelo's house, to see the designs for the Last Judgment, and after greatly admiring the statues for the monument of Julius II. which he saw there, promised to induce the Duke to content himself with three statues wholly from his hand, and to allow him to have the others worked out by some competent sculptor. This promise he fulfilled seven
A.D. 1545. years later, and himself ratified the new and final contract,[1] by which all previous ones were annulled, and the agreement entered into, that the statues of Active and Contemplative Life, already begun, should be completed by Raphael da Montelupo, who was also appointed to sculpture a Madonna, a Prophet, and a Sibyl after the master's designs. To it was added a clause which certified that Michelangelo had deposited 1,400 scudi in

[1] Dated August 20, 1542. Gaye, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 301.

the bank to meet the daily payments for the work, and a promise was given that he should never more be molested about the matter.

The following very interesting letter[1] brings before us the trouble and misery which this great man suffered, through the constant impediments thrown in his way by selfish popes and personal enemies.

'*To Messer Luigi del Riccio* (undated).

'Messer Luigi, my dear friend,—I am much urged by Messer Pier Giovanni to commence painting upon the Last Judgment, and as you may imagine, I cannot do so for three or four days, because the rough casting of the wall is not yet dry. But there is something which annoys me more than the rough casting; which not only prevents me from painting, but even from living, and which has thrown me into a state of despair, namely, the non-arrival of the ratification of the contract. I have, myself, spent about 1,400 scudi,[2] which would have enabled me to work for seven years, during which I could have made two monuments instead of one; and this I have done in order to be at peace, and serve the Pope with my whole heart. That which I have done about the said money, was done with the consent of the Duke, and under an agreement of liberation; and now that I have disbursed it, the ratification does not come, the meaning of which you can very well see without my writing it. Enough! For my faith, which has lasted thirty-three years, and for having voluntarily given myself up, I have merited nothing else. Painting, sculpture, fatigue, and faith have ruined me, and matters go on from bad to worse. It would have been better for me

[1] MS. British Museum, vol. xxii. p. 731, No. 17. See Appendix, letter E. Three marble figures given to Montelupo, who promised to finish them in eighteen months. No. 19, August 1542, refers to the Active and Contemplative Life. Autograph receipts of Montelupo for payments on these works made to him. *Ibid.* No. 24, vol. xxiii. p. 139.

[2] Refers to the money which he had deposited at the bank to pay his workmen.

had I given myself in my youth to the making of sulphur matches,[1] in which case I should not now be in such suffering. I write this to you, as you have always been my friend, as you have been the manager of this matter, and as you know the truth, in order that you may make it known to the Pope, so that he may understand that I cannot live, nor even paint; and that when I promised to begin, I promised in the hope of receiving the ratification which ought to have been in my hands a month ago. I do not wish to live any longer under this burden, nor to be stigmatised every day as a dishonest person by him who has taken from me life and honour. Death or the Pope can alone relieve me from this strait.—Your

'MICHELANGELO BUONAROTTI.'

In the same strain he writes elsewhere, 'I am stoned every day as if I had crucified Christ;'[2] and again, 'I have wasted all my youth, bound to this monument.'

Statues for the tomb of Pope Julius.

According to Vasari, twelve statues for the tomb of Julius II. were begun, of which the Moses alone was finished. Of the remainder, a group in the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio called Victory, four prisoners now in a grotto of the Boboli Gardens at Florence (which were given to Cosimo I. by Michelangelo's nephew Lionardo), and two prisoners in the Louvre, exist, but in an unfinished state. The last-mentioned statues were left as we now see them when Michelangelo fled from Rome in 1506; and as he considered them out of keeping with the monument when planned on a reduced scale, he presented them to Roberto Strozzi, who gave them to Francis I.; he in his turn bestowed them upon the Connétable de Montmorency, who placed them in his château at Ecouen, whence, in 1632, Cardinal Richelieu removed them to Poitou. The last Maréchal de Richelieu brought them to Paris,

[1] 'Che io mi fosse messo a fare zolfanelli.'

[2] 'Son ogni dì lapidato, come se havessi crucifisso Christo.' 'Io mi truovo avere perduta tutta la mia giovinezza legato a questa sepoltura.'—Ciampi, *Lettera cit.*

and his widow placed them in her hotel in the Faubourg du Roule; but so little did she prize them that, on changing her residence, she left them with other marbles in a stable, where in 1793 they were found by M. Alexandre Lenoir, who purchased them for the nation.[1]

Among all Michelangelo's works there is perhaps none more beautiful than the sleeping prisoner, who, worn out with futile efforts to escape, rests with his noble head thrown back so as to expose his throat, his left arm raised and bent above his head, and his right reposing upon his breast. In striking contrast to this image of sleep, the other prisoner is struggling to rend his bonds asunder, every muscle in action and every limb contorted. His head is covered with thick masses of matted hair, and raised with an expression of rage and agony which lights up his roughly blocked out features. Unsubdued though vanquished, he might be addressed in the words of Virgil to the Argive hero :—

> O Capaneo, in ciò che non s' ammorza
> La tua superbia, se' tu più punito :
> Nullo martirio, fuor che la tua rabbia
> Sarebbe al tuo furor dolor compito. [2]

In looking at the Moses (see Frontispiece), which sits enthroned at San Pietro in Vincoli, sole representative of the crowd of statues projected by Michelangelo for this mausoleum, we must remember that we now see it at a disadvantage, as it was not intended to be on a level with the spectator; though it is so elaborately worked throughout, that it suffers little from its forced proximity to the eye, as far as mere surface is concerned. Its vagueness of meaning, which has been so often called a defect, The Moses.

[1] *Catalogue des Sculptures Modernes au Louvre*, par M. Barbêt de Fouy. Nos. 25 et 29.

[2] 'O Capaneus!
Thou art more punished in that this thy pride
Lives yet unquenched : no torment save thy rage
Were to thy fury pain proportioned full.'
Cary's Translation, *Inferno*, canto xiv.

is in one sense a proof of power in the sculptor; since, though neither receiving nor teaching the law, Moses impresses us as the mighty leader of a chosen people, worthy to carry out the decrees of the Most High. Of spirituality this statue has nothing; of ideality a great deal, but of a Michelangelesque stamp; that is, such ideality as belongs to a creature higher than man, although materially allied to earth; one of those semi-divine beings descended from the Titans, such as Prometheus and Helios; a type not unsuited to the representation of Moses, or to that of the inspired mortals which look down upon us from the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.

We need not dwell upon the other statues placed about the monument, which serve but to set off the Moses, who would have dwarfed far better works into insignificance. The Pope, sculptured by Maso del Bosco,[1] reclines upon a sarcophagus, on the second stage of the monumental façade which serves as a background to the Moses, instead of being, as he should be, the chief object of interest. Above him is a group of the Virgin and Child, by Scherano da Settignano; and below, in niches, are two figures called Leah and Rachel, or Active and Contemplative Life, which, with the Prophet and the Sibyl above them, were finished after Michelangelo's designs, by Raffaello da Montelupo.[2]

The tombs of the Medici at San Lorenzo.

Having now followed the long and sad history of this monument to its close, we must go back to the year 1523, in order to trace that of the Medici tombs at San Lorenzo,[3] upon which Michelangelo was occupied during twelve eventful years, simul-

[1] Probably identical with Maso Boscoli da Fiesole, scholar of Andrea Sansovino.—Vasari, vol. xii. nota 1, p. 218.

[2] *Vide* Montelupo's contract for finishing these statues. British Museum, vol. xxii. p. 731.

[3] Early in 1521, Michelangelo went to Carrara to get marble for these statues, April 22. He brought marble for two figures, which were to be blocked out after his design, and delivered at Florence at the end of 1523. April 23, he bought another piece for the Madonna and Child, which, though promised for the next year, did not arrive till 1523. Grimm, vol. ii. pp. 47, 48.

taneously with the enlargement of the chapel in which they stand, and the building of the Sacristy and the Laurentian Library. The interruptions which occurred in carrying out these enterprises were caused by grave political events, which brought about once more the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, and placed Michelangelo before the world, in the new and nobly sustained rôle of a patriot soldier.

When the news of the capture and sack of Rome reached Florence, Ippolito and the infamous Alessandro de' Medici were driven into exile, and a republican form of government was re-established under the Gonfaloniere Piero Capponi, the representative of the moderate party, who was two years later deprived of his office by the democratic party, for having entered into secret negotiations with Pope Clement. A.D. 1527.

In the same year the Florentines were roused to a sense of their danger from Charles V. by the news of the Peace of Cambrai, from which Florence was tacitly excluded by the contracting Powers, and of the treaty of Barcelona, by which the Emperor openly espoused the cause of the Medici, promising his natural daughter Margherita in marriage to Alessandro, and consenting to the Pope's demand, that he should send the Prince of Orange to reduce the Florentines to submission. They consequently began to repair the walls and forts of their city, and on the 6th of April appointed Michelangelo commissary-general of the fortifications for one year, with the title of Governor and Procurator.[1] An ardent liberal, and an enemy of the policy by which Leo X. had crushed the liberties of his native city, he felt in no wise bound by conscience to maintain allegiance to the illegitimate and unworthy descendants of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and accepted the honourable post, and set about putting the hill of San Miniato into a complete state of defence. Towards the end of July, when its fortifications were far advanced, Niccolò Capponi and his Political events. A.D. 1529.

[1] *Prospetto Cronologico*, p. 384.

colleagues, considering that he had committed grave errors in their construction, induced the Signory to send him to study the fortifications and artillery at Ferrara, where he met with a gracious reception from Duke Alphonso, who himself explained the military works, which he had brought to great perfection, and would not allow him to depart until he had promised to paint a picture for his gallery.

Soon after his return, Michelangelo became convinced that the Condottiere Malatesta Baglioni of Perugia, the commander of the forces of the republic, was a traitor to the cause which he was paid to serve, and he therefore thought it his duty to warn the Signory; but his suspicions were attributed to over-caution or personal fear,[1] and his warnings were disregarded. Annoyed by this, and believing that the city would be betrayed to the Medici in a few days, or even hours, he took 3,000 florins in his purse, and, in company with Rinaldo Corsini, secretly departed for Venice, with a vague plan of proceeding thence
Oct. 1529. to France. He had hardly arrived there and taken lodgings in a house on the Giudecca Canal, where he intended to live unknown, when he was waited on by two gentlemen, members of the Signory, who in the name of that body offered to supply his wants and those of his companions; an act of courtesy which, showing the high appreciation in which they held him, gratified Michelangelo extremely, and might have induced him to remain in this friendly asylum, had he not at the same time received a letter from Galeotto Giugni, delegate from the Florentine Republic to Duke Alphonso d'Este, begging him to come immediately to Ferrara on business of importance. After a sojourn of fourteen days, he left Venice, and went to Ferrara, where he met Giugni, who in accordance with the instructions of the Signory urgently entreated him to return to his post at Florence.

[1] This insulting imputation was cast upon him by the Gonfaloniere Carducci. Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. ii. p. 213; Varchi, *St. Fior.* lib. x.

The magistrates' earnest desire that he should do so is proved not only by their instructions to Giugni, but also by their not having included his name in the list of the proscribed, who had abandoned Florence at the same time as himself; and by the safe conduct which they sent to him at Venice, through a stone-cutter named Bastiano, who was greatly attached to him. Duke Alphonso again welcomed him most cordially, and urged him to take up his residence in the palace; but Michelangelo firmly refused, preferring to remain at the inn at which he had alighted. Oct. 1529.

In the latter part of November he returned to Florence, not without peril of his life, as the city had been closely beleaguered by the enemy since the 24th of October, when the Prince of Orange had encamped with his army on the hill of Arcetri. As this position was overlooked by the campanile of San Miniato, the besieged were able to inflict much injury upon the enemy, who directed their artillery against it, and would have destroyed it, had not Michelangelo effectually protected it by piling up bales of wool on the sides exposed to their fire.

Incredible as it may seem that in the midst of his anxiety and military duty he should have found time to think of art, it appears certain that he now began a picture of Leda for the Duke of Ferrara; worked secretly upon the Medici tombs; and sculptured an allegorical figure of Military Glory, upon a stone which he found lying upon the hill of San Miniato.[1] Works executed by Michelangelo during the siege.

This is not the place to recount the history of the siege of Florence, which was distinguished by the bold sorties of the besieged, and the brilliant exploits of the valiant Francesco Ferrucci, who was barbarously put to death by the Imperialists when they had taken him prisoner at the battle of Gavignana. After this event, which spread consternation throughout the city, Malatesta threw off the mask, and by turning his artillery against the Porta Romana, forced the half-famished and plague- Aug. 12, 1530.

[1] Engraved in *Annotazioni di F. Gori a Condivi*, p. 109, ed. 1746.

stricken inhabitants to capitulate, with the agreement that their future form of government should be fixed by the Emperor within four months, and that they should not be deprived of their liberties. Michelangelo had been so long certain of the traitorous intentions of Malatesta, that this final result of his infamous schemes could not have taken him by surprise; nor, knowing as he did the temper of the victors, could he have put any faith in the general amnesty proclaimed by them, and shamefully violated by the Pope a few months later. He therefore lost no time in concealing himself so effectually, that it was impossible to discover his hiding place;[1] and as the Pope needed him to finish the tombs at San Lorenzo, he was obliged to announce publicly, that if he would resume his work he should receive full pardon for the past, and his monthly salary as before. It must have cost this proud and high-spirited man a severe struggle to decide upon such a step, particularly as he had none of those feelings of affection for Clement VII. which had paved the way to his reconciliation with Julius II.; yet for his work's sake he did so, and again took up his chisel to finish the monuments of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici.[2]

There was nothing in the life of either to excite the imagination of an artist. Giuliano was a man of literary tastes, who, though hating public affairs, had gained so much popularity while Governor of Florence, that he excited the jealousy of his family, and was removed under pretence of promotion. He then gave up the command of the Papal troops, and retired to a convent at Fiesole, where he soon after died (it is said) of poison administered by his nephew Lorenzo, whose reputation renders the suspicion plausible.

March 15, 1516.

[1] Either in the house of a friend, or, according to another account, in the tower of the church of San Niccolo oltre l'Arno.

[2] Giuliano was the brother of Leo X. and titular Duke de Nemours. Lorenzo was the eldest son of Pietro, grandson of 'Il Magnifico,' and nephew of Leo X, who, after despoiling Francesco Maria of his dominions, made him Duke of Urbino.

Lorenzo, who succeeded his uncle as commander of the Papal troops, though a brave soldier, was a man of the very worst character. He lent himself to the ambitious schemes of Leo X., A.D. 1519. with the hope of self-aggrandisement; and at last died of his excesses, about a month after his wife, Madeleine de la Tour,[1] had expired in giving birth to the celebrated Catherine de' Medici.

Michelangelo treated the statues of these two men so vaguely, that to this day there is an uncertainty as to their identity. That generally called Giuliano[2] wears the armour of a Roman general, and sits with the bâton of his office across his knees, turning his head, as if to watch some distant evolutions of his troops. He is an abstract military hero, whose connection with the wonderful figures of Day and Night, which recline upon the sarcophagus below him, we are at a loss to understand.

The Day is a giant (see Plate II.), who in the shadowy indistinctness of his features, and the grandeur of his strange attitude, resembles those forms which fancy shapes in the clouds. The Night is a colossal woman buried in sleep, her identity marked by the star between two small horns upon her forehead, the bunch of poppies beneath her foot, the owl, and the mask suggestive of dreams. They have been supposed to typify the glory of Giuliano, limited only by the confines of the earth; or when taken with the Aurora and Twilight statues, which recline below the figure of Lorenzo, to be emblematic of the brevity of human life, which is marked by their rapidly succeeding divisions.[3] Did the Night and Day recline below Lorenzo, we might

[1] Daughter of Jean de la Tour d'Auvergne et de Boulogne and of Jeanne de Bourbon.

[2] Grimm (vol. ii. p. 62) calls the Roman warrior Lorenzo, because he was a fighting man, who hoped to erect the Italian states into a kingdom for himself, who led the attack against Monteleone, and took by force the Duchy of Urbino which the Pope had given him; and the Thinker, Giuliano; a change of name which certainly makes the statues coincide more nearly with their respective characters than the popular nomenclature.

[3] Litta, *op. cit.* Tav. 21, vol. xii. and *Discorso del sublime, e di Michelangelo.*

suppose that the first meant Death, and the second Resurrection; and that the Thinker, 'Il Pensoso' (see Plate II.), is absorbed in their contemplation, as he sits with one finger pressed upon his lip, as if forbidding interruption, and with a mysterious depth of expression in his face, which is buried beneath the shadow of a helmet.

In this same chapel there is a very noble and thoroughly Michelangelesque group of the Madonna and Child,[1] in which the Infant stands upon his mother's knee, and turns to bury his face in her bosom. All the lines are grand and suggestive, and the masses of form and drapery broad and noble. We feel that Michelangelo was here working out the idea in his mind, without having gone through any intermediate process. (See Plate III.) He blocked out, about the same time, a statue of Apollo drawing an arrow from his quiver,[2] which he intended as a present for Baccio Valori, the Pope's commissioner; finished the picture of Leda for the Duke of Ferrara;[3] and began a head of Brutus, which is full of energy, and which, like so many other of his works, he left in an unfinished state.[4]

A.D. 1531–1532.

[1] Left in this state in 1530. May 4, 1536, Charles V. 'andò innanzi alla partita sua a udire messa in S. Lorenzo, e dopo messa andò a vedere quella maravigliosa sagrestia, che fece in quella chiesa Michelangelo Buonarotti, scultore fiorentino, il quale meritamente una della luci della fiorentina gloria dirsi puote' Varchi.—*St. Fior.*, lib. xiv. vol. iii. p. 177.

[2] In the Uffizi.

[3] Offended by the low estimate put upon this picture by the Duke's commissioner, Michelangelo gave it to his pupil Antonio Mini, who sold it, with many other of his drawings and sketches, to Francis I., who placed it at Fontainebleau, where it still existed during the reign of Louis XIV. October 29, 1530, the Duke of Ferrara wrote Michelangelo a letter in which he speaks of his pleasure at hearing, through Messer Alessandro Guarino, that Michelangelo had painted this picture for him, asks how it can be sent to him, and excuses himself for not having sent him any money, saying that as he cannot trust his own judgment as to its value, he begs him to put an estimate upon it. (See Buonarotti MSS., British Museum, vol. xxiii. p. 139.)

[4] The inscription upon the bust,

'Dum Bruti effigiem sculptor de marmore ducit,
In mentem scelere venit, et abstinuit,'

FROM

THE MEDICI TOMBS

at S. Lorenzo.

Nov. 21, 1531. State of Michelangelo's health at this time.

The year after the termination of the siege of Florence, Michelangelo's health gave way under the pressure of hard work, anxiety, and disappointment. Antonio Mini, his scholar, thus writes to Baccio Valori:—'During the last three weeks he has spent the evenings at my house with Bugiardini and Antonio, his nephew and scholar. After much conversation upon art, I agreed with him, to go and see the two female statues (at San Lorenzo), which I did, and in truth they are astounding. Your Excellency, as I know, saw that of Night, with the moon and the star upon her head; but the second surpasses it in every respect, and is indeed a wonderful work. He intends to set to work upon one of the two other figures immediately, and it is my opinion that the eye can see nothing finer.

'Michelangelo appears to me very thin, and much fallen away; and Bugiardini, Mini, and I, after talking about him, have come to the conclusion that he cannot live long unless something is done for him, because he works too hard, eats little and poor food, sleeps scarcely at all, and for the last month has suffered much from headache, vertigo, and rheumatism. To conclude, he is beset with two evils—one of the heart, and the other of the head, and cannot be well unless some remedy is found for both.[1] The physical illness,' Mini continues 'is caused by the cold air of the sacristy; and the mental, by his anxiety about his obligations to the Duke of Urbino.'

The contents of this letter having been communicated to Pope Clement, he ordered Michelangelo, under pain of excommunication,[2] to work solely upon the tombs at San Lorenzo, 'and to take better care of his health,' which he says he has greatly at heart.

has been supposed to mean that while making it, the crime of Lorenzino de Medici (who was commonly called 'Il Bruto Toscano') recurred to Michelangelo, and caused him to leave it unfinished. (Varchi, *St. Fior.*, vol. iii. p. 210.)

[1] Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. ii. p. 229.

[2] *Latæ sententiæ.* In a brief dated November 21, 1531; *Lett. Pitt. di Bottari*, vol. vi. No. 15, p. 54.

So great, indeed, was Michelangelo's distress of mind, that he made every effort to induce his taskmaster to allow him to come to Rome, for the settlement of his affairs with the Duke of Urbino. To this Clement consented, but the very day after the new contract was signed, sent him back to his work at Florence, where he kept him until, filled with the idea of employing him to paint frescoes of the Last Judgment, and of the Fall of the Rebel Angels in the Sistine Chapel, he recalled him to Rome, where he commenced the cartoon for the first of these great works, upon which he worked until the Pope's death.

April 29, 1532.

Sept. 23, 1534.

Once more the hope entered his heart that he might now be left to complete the monument of Pope Julius, and once more he was doomed to disappointment, for Paul III., the new Pope, would not listen to his entreaties, though at the same time, anxious to soften his refusal, he appointed him supreme architect, sculptor, and painter of the Apostolic Chamber, with a salary of 1,200 golden scudi a year, and other emoluments. We know by the Papal edict, that the Last Judgment was then already begun; and by Michelangelo's answer to a letter from Pietro Aretino, that a great part of it was finished in 1537.[1]

Sept. 1, 1535.

Fresco of the Last Judgment.

Aretino's letter contains a striking description of what he imagines the fresco to be:—[2]

'If, most venerable man! it is a disgrace and a sin to forget God, it is also a stain upon the virtue, and a dishonour upon the judgment of any one who has virtue and judgment, not to reverence you, who are a very target of wonders, into which the stars, contending in your favour, have shot all the arrows of their gifts. I salute you, which I should not dare to do, if my name, by becoming familiar to princely ears, had not lost much of its unworthiness. And, indeed, I ought to look upon you with a like reverence, as the world contains many kings and but one Michelangelo. I hear that in the Last Judgment, which you are

[1] It was completed in 1541.

[2] *Lettere di Pietro Aretino*, lib. i. p. 153, vol. i.; ed. Paris, 1689.

Michelangelo sc.

MADONNA AND CHILD

at S. Lorenzo

now painting, you intend to surpass the Creation, which you painted formerly, so that in vanquishing your paintings by your paintings, you will gain a triumph over yourself. Who would not shrink from handling such a subject? I see Antichrist in the midst of multitudes, with a countenance such as you alone can imagine; I see tears upon the faces of the living; I see signs of death in the sun, the moon, and the stars; I see, as it were, the spirit exhale from the fire, the air, the earth, and the water; I see on one side exhausted Nature shrunk into a barren decrepitude; I see Time dried up, and trembling, seated upon the withered trunk of a tree, having reached his appointed term; and whilst I hear the angelic trumpets which shake the hearts of all, I see Life and Death in fearful confusion—the one striving to raise the dead; the other to strike down the living. I see the hope and the desperation, which guide the company of the blessed and the crowds of the wicked. I see the clouds coloured by the rays which issue from the pure fires of heaven, upon which Christ, encircled with splendours and with terrors, sits among His hosts. I see His face shine, and shed flames of joyful and terrible light, which fill the good with delight, and the wicked with fear. I see also the servants of the abyss, horrible in aspect, who taunt the Cæsars and the Alexanders with the glory of the saints and martyrs, in proof that it is a better thing to have conquered oneself, than to have vanquished the world. I see Fame, with crowns and palms beneath her feet, cast down among the wheels of her chariots; and lastly, I see the great sentence issue from the mouth of the Son of God, in the form of twin beams, the one of health, the other of damnation; and in their descent I see them strike with violence against the elemental machine, breaking it up, and dissolving it with tremendous thunders. I see the lights of Paradise, and the jaws of the abyss, divided by the darkness which has fallen upon space—so that my thought, which represents to me the image of the Last Day, says to me, If we tremble and fear when we look upon the

handiwork of Buonarotti, how much more shall we tremble and fear when we shall ourselves be judged by the Judge of all men!'

To these flattering words Michelangelo thus replies:—'In receiving your letter I was filled with mingled joy and grief; of joy, because it came from you, *who are the most virtuous man in the world*;[1] and grief, because having finished the greater part of my fresco, I cannot realise your imaginings, which are so graphic, that if the Day of Judgment had passed in your presence, your words could not have described it better.' This acknowledgment was not enough for Aretino, who, as the sequel shows, had written his honeyed words in order to induce the great artist to make him a present of some drawings which he coveted, but as they were not given, this malignant backbiter taxed Michelangelo with dishonest conduct towards the Duke of Urbino, and in a second letter told him, 'that his fresco was as artistically licentious as it was impious;' while he at the same time wrote to Ænea Vico (then engraving it), that Michelangelo deserved for his immodest work to be classed among the Lutherans,—words which came with an ill grace from the most irreligious and licentious man of his day.

On Christmas Day, 1541, after eight years of labour, Michelangelo exhibited his great fresco, which filled Rome with 'stupor and wonder, and not only Rome, but the whole world,' says Vasari, who in that year travelled from Venice expressly to see it.

Though inspired in its upper portion by the vision of St. John, and in its lower by the Inferno of Dante, and everywhere filled with evidence of Michelangelo's consummate knowledge of the human form, and of its every development and attitude, the Last Judgment is not as great a work as the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, to which, at the time, it was thought superior. Perhaps the ideal treatment of such a subject could only be the work of

[1] 'Che di tutti disse mal, fuorchè di Cristo,
Scusandosi col dir, Non lo conosco.'—*Epitaph upon Pietro Aretino.*

an impossible man, uniting in himself the qualities of Michelangelo with those of Fra Angelico. The imagination of the first, which revelled in the terrible and the semi-divine, could not represent the blissful and celestial region, so as to satisfy the spiritual and religious mind; while that of the painter of Paradise was too pure and childlike to imagine those sinister and horrible forms, and those crowds of lost beings driven before the agents of Divine wrath, like leaves before the wind, with which Michelangelo filled the air.

Frescoes of the Pauline Chapel.

The remainder of his life was principally passed in painting the frescoes of the Pauline Chapel,[1] and in fulfilling his duties as architect of St. Peter's, to which office he had been appointed despite his plea of advanced age and want of capacity, by Pope Paul III., who was dissatisfied with the designs of Antonio di San Gallo. Those of Michelangelo were indeed far superior, and had the church been built as he intended, in the shape of a Greek cross,[2] and not been disfigured by Maderno's tasteless façade, whose attic completely hides the splendid dome raised by Michelangelo in emulation of that with which Brunelleschi crowned the Duomo at Florence, St. Peter's would have been one of the most beautiful, as it is one of the grandest of Italian churches. Actuated by a noble disinterestedness, Michelangelo refused to accept any salary for his services as architect, and thus obtained a vantage ground, from which he successfully defeated the vile intriguers, who, in the reign of Pope Julius III., endeavoured to deprive him of an office which he in vain offered to resign, but which he was forced to retain, with fitting expressions of admiration for his unselfish course of action.

A.D. 1547.

St. Peter's.

The Farnese Palace. A.D. 1547.

Not only did Michelangelo succeed Sangallo as architect of St. Peter's, but also as that of the Farnese Palace, for which he designed the cornice, 'which is the pride of the building, and the

[1] These frescoes, which represent the Crucifixion of St. Peter, and the Vocation of St. Paul, were painted between 1542 and 1549–50.

[2] Peruzzi, Raphael, and San Gallo had the same intention.

grandest architectural feature in modern Rome.'[1] The effect of its noble courtyard is somewhat marred by fantastic details, conceived for the sake of contrast, in a spirit better suited to the brush than the chisel; but it must be remembered that, as he himself said, he was not an educated architect, and dealt with stone from a pictorial rather than from an architectural point of view.[2] Impatience of the hard material stood in his way here, as it did sometimes in sculpture, and brought about the injury or destruction of many works which, if carried out in a more patient spirit, would have increased his fame and added to the world's treasures.

Last works.

Certain works upon which he employed the few leisure hours which remained to him, because, he says, 'I felt that working with the chisel was necessary to my health,' belong to this category; such is the almost shapeless Pietà in the courtyard of the Palazzo Fevoli at Rome, and the group, representing the same subject, in the Barberini Palace at Palestrina. Although parts of the latter are hewn away until all proportion is lost, there is still much to be admired in the fine shoulder and head of the half-unveiled figure of Christ, and in the hand of the Virgin, upon which, as upon the hands of many other figures, such as the Madonna at Bruges, those of the statues at San Lorenzo, and of one of the prisoners at the Louvre, he bestowed peculiar care.[3]

The last of his unfinished works is the group behind the High Altar of the Duomo at Florence, representing Nicodemus and the Magdalen supporting the body of our Lord, while the Virgin faints from grief. It was begun in the reign of Julius III., the

A.D. 1555.

[1] Fergusson's *Modern Architecture*, p. 104.

[2] The Museum, and the Palazzo dei Conservatori upon the Capitoline, were begun in 1542 and finished by Michelangelo — the third building, which he began in 1563, was completed after his death.

[3] The medallion Pietà in the Albergo dei Poveri at Genoa is attributed to Michelangelo. The heads of the Madonna and Christ are certainly like him in expression, but the surface treatment is much less so. The hands particularly are wanting in character.

last of his Papal patrons, and the only one who treated him with unvarying consideration and respect. He it was who induced Condivi to write his biography; and we are told that he said he would gladly give up some years of his own life if he could add them to those of his favourite artist, and that in case he survived Michelangelo, he intended to have his body embalmed, that it might endure like his works.[1]

Michelangelo was already sixty-four years old when he became acquainted with Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara,[2] in whose society he was to enjoy the happiest hours of his life. This noble woman,—who, it was said, combined within herself 'the spirit of Petrarch with that of Plato;' whose verses unquestionably entitle her to the first rank among Italian poetesses, and who surpassed her countrywomen in beauty, as in genius,—was possessed of a lofty spirit, which had been chastened by severe trials; she had sought and found consolation in the exercise of sincere and unaffected piety, and diversion from sad thoughts in literary pursuits and society. Brought into contact with Valdez, a Spaniard, who, during the diplomatic missions with which he had been charged by the Emperor Charles V. in Germany, had imbibed Lutheran doctrines, she gladly joined a religious association formed at Naples of a few noble persons like herself,[3] to whom he imparted his opinions; and became an auditor of the monk Bernardo Ochino, who shared the ideas of Valdez, and who, said Charles V., 'preached with a fire and an earnestness that would make the stones weep.' Through these teachings her mind was more and more opened to religious truth, and though, perhaps, she never contemplated the adoption of the doctrines of the northern reformers, like Ochino, Carnesecchi, Vermigli, and the

A.D. 1538. Vittoria Colonna.

A.D. 1536.

[1] Vasari, vol. xii. p. 270, nota 1.

[2] She was daughter of Fabrizio Colonna and Anna Montefeltro, and wife of Ferdinando Davalos, Marquis of Pescara, who died in 1525 in consequence of the wounds which he had received at the battle of Pavia.

[3] Giannone, *Stor. del Regno*, vol. ii. lib. xxxii. p. 184.

Duchess Renée (whose court at Ferrara had become an asylum for Protestant fugitives), she certainly, like many other eminent Italians, desired a thorough reformation of the Romish Church. Her influence upon Michelangelo completed what Savonarola had begun, and dispelled the last remnants of those sublime but cold Platonic doctrines, which he had imbibed at the Court of Lorenzo de' Medici. 'From her eyes,' he says, 'I cannot turn my own, because I recognise in them the light which guides me to God.'[1]

During the last nine years of her life, Vittoria Colonna resided principally at Rome, where she had founded a house of refuge for poor young girls, and at this time Michelangelo, who regarded her with feelings of reverent affection, had constant opportunity of seeing her.

Diary of François de Hollande.

We obtain an idea of their intercourse from the diary of M. François de Hollande, a Portuguese architect and illuminator, who had been sent by his king to study art at Rome.[2]

After speaking of the desire for improvement which induced him, instead of courting the favour of the great and powerful, to frequent the society of artists, from whom he could draw profit, and in whose conversation upon noble themes, both ancient and modern, he could refresh his spirit, De Hollande says: 'Above all other persons Michelangelo inspired me with such a feeling of esteem, that, if I chanced to meet him in the Pope's palace or in the street, I could not make up my mind to leave him until the stars forced us to separate.'

One day, he tells us, having gone to visit Messer Lactanzio Tolomei (who had introduced him to Michelangelo), he was told that he would find him in the church of San Silvestro on

[1] 'Conosco in lor la luce che mi mostra la via ch' a Dio mi guida.' Sonetto III. See also the 57th Sonetto, whose argument is, 'Come lo scultore che il suo concetto modella prima in umil materia, e quindi lo perfeziona nel marmo—così ella fece del poeta.'

[2] *Les Arts en Portugal*, par le Comte Raczynski.

Monte Cavallo,[1] whither he had gone with the Marchioness of Pescara, to hear a certain Fra Ambrogio read the Epistles of St. Paul. 'Now Madonna Vittoria Colonna,' he continues, 'is one of the most illustrious and celebrated women in Italy or in Europe —that is to say, in the world; chaste and beautiful, learned in Latin, *spirituelle*, and endowed with all qualities praiseworthy in a lady, who since the death of her illustrious husband leads a modest and retired life, and, tired of the show and splendour of her past existence, cherishes nothing but Jesus Christ and serious reading, doing much good to poor women, and setting an example of true Catholic piety.'

At San Silvestro Messer François found the Marchioness, who suggested that perhaps he would prefer a discourse from Michelangelo upon painting to a reading of the Epistles of St. Paul by brother Ambrose, and thereupon ordered one of her servants to go to his house at the foot of Monte Cavallo, and tell him that she and her friends would be much pleased if he felt disposed to spend a part of the day with them in the church. On his way the servant met Michelangelo in the Via Esquilina, talking with his faithful servant and colour-grinder Urbino, who on receiving his message, immediately followed him to San Silvestro. 'Desiring to lead him to talk about painting, and aware that he would not open his lips upon the subject if directly attacked, the Marchioness commenced, says Messer François, 'with an art that I can neither describe nor imitate, and with much wit and grace, to speak on other matters, without touching upon the desired subject, in order the better to assure herself of the great painter. While she conducted herself like one who wishes by ruse and tactics to seize an impregnable fortress, he stood on his guard, vigilant as if he were besieged, placing a sentinel on one side, raising bridges on another, opening countermines, traversing walls

[1] The convent of San Silvestro in Capite was under the special protection of the Colonna family.

and bastions; but at last the Marchioness obtained the victory, and really I do not know who could have resisted her.'

Having conversed for some time about a monastery which she had obtained permission from the Pope to build, she led Michelangelo into a defence of artists, worth quoting as it answers some of the objections raised against his own taciturnity and love of solitude. 'Of the thousand falsehoods,' he says, 'which are told about distinguished painters, the most generally believed is that which represents them as bizarre and intolerant of approach, whilst they are really very human. Everywhere fools, I will not say reasonable people, consider them fantastic and capricious—qualities which do not easily accord with the character of a painter. Idle people have no right to demand that an artist, absorbed in his work, should waste his time in making himself agreeable to them; for very few people work conscientiously, and certainly those persons are in the wrong, who blame an honest man who desires to do so. For the rest, if great painters are sometimes difficult to manage, it is not from pride, but because they find few persons capable of understanding their art, and do not wish to lower their intelligence, or turn it from its constant and profound meditations, by fruitless conversation. I can assure your Excellency that even his Holiness sometimes grieves me, by asking why I do not visit him more frequently; though, when there is nothing of importance to be said, I think I can be more useful to him, and serve him better, by remaining at home, than by calling upon him. Therefore, I tell him that I like better to work for him in my own fashion, than to stand a whole day in his presence like so many other people.'

After mentioning that sometimes, in moments of absent-mindedness, he puts his hat on his head in the Pope's presence, without risk of reproof, he continues to apologise for the isolation in which a great artist has a right to live. 'You would be quite right to blame a man (if one so original or so foolish could be found) who feigned the love of anything so disadvantageous as

isolation, and took pleasure in solitude, at the risk of losing his friends and setting all the world against him; but when a man acts thus naturally, or because he is constrained by the exigencies of his profession, or because his character revolts from feint and affectation, it is a great injustice not to let him alone, particularly if he asks nothing from you. What do you claim from him? and why do you wish to make him share the vain pastimes which his love of tranquillity induces him to fly? Do you not know that certain pursuits absorb a man entirely, without leaving any part of his mind free for your amusements? Had such a man leisure like yourselves, I would agree to have him put to death, were he to refuse to practise your etiquette and your ceremonies. You only seek his society and praise him in order to do honour to yourselves, and you are well pleased if he preserve his dignity, whether a pope or an emperor speak to him.

'I dare to affirm that an artist who applies himself to the task of satisfying the ignorant, rather than to his profession, and who has about him nothing singular or peculiar, or at least what is commonly so called, can never be considered a superior person. As for heavy and vulgar minds, they can be found in public places, all over the world, without the aid of a lantern.'

In another part of these dialogues, Michelangelo eulogises the art of drawing or painting as the source of all other arts and sciences. 'Everyone in the world,' he says, 'occupies himself unconsciously with painting, either by the invention of new forms and figures, dresses and costumes, of dwellings and public edifices; or by marking the earth with furrows and lines when cultivating it or when navigating the seas; when risking his life in battle, performing funeral obsequies, or any other of his pursuits, movements, and actions.'

He also shows how useful is the art of painting, in war and in peace; proves that artists are much better paid in Italy than elsewhere, because the art is much more highly appreciated there; and says that 'a painting should never be valued

according to the time consumed in its production;' explains the right that an artist has, for the sake of variety, and for the gratification of the desire of mortals to see that which can only exist in the fancy, to invent arabesques and decorative ornaments made up of monsters and fantastic animals; and in regard to religious art remarks, that in order to represent our Lord, it is not only necessary for the artist to be a man of genius, but to be also a man of principle, 'and even holy, so that he may be inspired by the Holy Spirit;' and, in answer to the question 'whether it is better to work fast or slow,' says that 'a good artist should never allow himself to be so carried away by excitement, as to forget or neglect his chief end, perfection, and that the greatest of all defects is that of working badly—the essential thing in painting being so to paint, that works which have cost the artist a great deal of time and trouble, shall appear to have been quickly and easily done.'

The picture drawn by Messer François of the 'reunion' in the cool quiet church is a pleasant one to look upon. The accomplished and still beautiful Marchioness sits, robed in her widow's weeds, listening with rapt attention to the great artist, who, laying aside his wonted taciturnity, discourses eloquently upon art; now and then the grave and dignified Tolomei mingles in the conversation, while Fra Ambrogio holds in his hand the book from which he has been reading; and the Portuguese painter, with the true enthusiasm of a hero-worshipper, drinks in eagerly every word that falls from the great sculptor's lips.

Death of Vittoria Colonna, A.D. 1547.

Knowing his devotion to Vittoria Colonna, we can easily understand that her death was a terrible blow to Michelangelo, 'who,' says Condivi 'seemed dazed, and like a man out of his senses with grief.' When he went to see her for the last time, as she lay dead in the palace of her relative Giulia Colonna (wife of Giuliano Cesarini), he dared only kiss her hand; but he afterwards expressed great regret, that he had not also imprinted a farewell kiss upon her forehead.

Nine years later he met with another great sorrow in the death of his faithful servant Urbino. After watching day and night by his bedside until all was over, he wrote to Vasari that in this death he had received from God a great favour and a great grief—a favour, because Urbino, 'after being the support of my life, has not only taught me to die without regret, but even to desire death. He has lived with me twenty-six years, faithful and perfect to the end. I had enriched him, I regarded him as the support of my old age, and now he has gone, leaving with me nothing but the hope of seeing him again in Paradise.'

Death of Urbino, A.D. 1556.

On the approach of the Duke of Alva in this same year, Pope Paul IV. commissioned Michelangelo to strengthen the fortifications of Rome; but having had enough of sieges at Florence, and remembering the sack of 1527, he retired to the mountains near Spoleto, where he dwelt with some hermits until the danger had passed.

A letter written by Pier. Vittori to Borghini shows us in how great honour he was held at this time at Rome, and how much curiosity was expressed by strangers to see him. 'How great a difference there is,' he says, 'between one man and another! Some German gentlemen whom I know only desired to look at Michelangelo, and when I brought about an interview, he received them very courteously to their great satisfaction.'

A.D. 1557.

At this time he was strongly urged by the Grand Duke Cosimo I. to return to Florence, 'whereby he would greatly honour and gratify him and his compatriots;' but although he wept with emotion at the warm manner in which the invitation was made, he declined it on account of his great age and his desire to work upon St. Peter's as long as life lasted. 'He is so old,' says Lotti in a letter to the Duke, 'that, even if he would, he could not travel many miles; indeed, he seldom goes even to St. Peter's, the model of which cannot be completed for many months.' When the Duke visited Rome, he treated the veteran artist with the utmost attention; consulted him about the works which

Cosimo de' Medici at Rome, A.D. 1560.

he had begun or intended to begin; and expressed again that strong desire felt at Florence for his return, which we also meet with in the well-known letters written by Vasari to Michelangelo [1] during the last years of his life, and in the two following from Cellini, which are equally expressive of reverence and affection.[2]

Letters from Benvenuto Cellini.

'My most excellent and divine preceptor Michelangelo,—Although your image is continually before my eyes, and imprinted on my heart, still, not having had any opportunity to serve you, and fearing to annoy you, I have not written for a long time. Now, as Maestro Giovanni da Udine, who has been doing penance in my house for a few days, is going to Rome, it has seemed to me a fitting opportunity to comfort myself by writing you a few lines in order to remind you of my constant affection. During the last four days I have heard with great pleasure that you are certainly coming back to Florence, which would much delight the whole city, and especially our glorious Duke, who is so great a lover of your wonderful virtues, and the most benign and courteous gentleman that ever walked the earth. I beseech you to come and finish your years happily in your own country with peace and glory.

'Though I have been at times strangely treated by my lord, and, as it seems to me, very unjustly, I know that it has not been through any fault of mine; for in truth no man was ever more cordially beloved in his own country and in this admirable court than I am. That trouble should have fallen upon me without cause, arises plainly from the influence of some evil star against whose power I know no other remedy than to confide in the true and immortal God, who, I hope, will make me happy for some years to come. Always ready to obey your commands,

'BENVENUTO CELLINI.

'From Florence, March 14, 1559.'

[1] See Harford's *Life of Michelangelo*, vol. ii.

[2] MS. British Museum, vol. xxiii. p. 139. See Appendix, letter F.

In the second letter he recommends a workman to Michelangelo's good offices in the following terms:—

'Most excellent and much-respected Maestro Michelangelo,—As I believe that there never was a man born in the world who more highly appreciates your great virtues than myself, which virtues I began to recognise when I worked as a goldsmith; at that time, entranced by your unique excellences, it did not appear to me possible to satisfy my honest wish until I had studied the wonderful art of sculpture under you; and as you are the source of everything, by loving and studying you I have succeeded in doing myself some honour. Now, considering that men are really bound to love and observe each other, and finding that one of my workmen, whom I have assisted on account of his real excellence, is anxious to go to Rome on some private affairs, and learning from him that he formerly worked under you upon some capitals for the great building of St. Peter's—at which time, as he is really a clever artist, I believe he must have given you satisfaction—I beg that you would deign, for love of me, to put him in the way of work, for which I shall consider myself greatly obliged to you.

'Always hoping that God will preserve you long and happily, and most ready to obey your commands,

'BENVENUTO CELLINI.

'From Florence, September 3, 1561.'

Vasari visits Michelangelo.

In 1560 Vasari, then newly arrived at Rome, wrote to Duke Cosimo that he had been to visit 'his great Michelangelo,' who 'kissed him, hanging upon his neck and weeping for softness of heart with that tenderness often shown by old people when they unexpectedly meet their lost children, expressing his grief that his strength did not enable him to yield to his own wishes and put himself at the command of your Excellency.' Four years later, Michelangelo, then in his ninetieth year, was attacked by a fever, which was so rapid in its progress that he died before

His death, Feb. 7 1564.

the arrival of his nephew Lionardo, who at his request had been summoned from Florence by Daniel of Volterra. With his last breath he said: 'My soul I resign to God, my body to the earth, and my worldly possessions to my nearest of kin;' and then, turning to his attendants, added: 'In your passage through this life remember the sufferings of Jesus Christ.'

'Who,' says Vasari,[1] 'was more religious? Who ever lived a more holy life? Who ever died more like a Christian than Buonarotti? Daniel of Volterra, a painter and sculptor of the highest excellence, his very dear and most affectionately attached friend, who stood beside his deathbed, wrote to M. Gian Francesco Lottini of Volterra (also a dear friend of Buonarotti's), that no one ever passed from this life with higher sentiments, or with greater devotion. He seemed to know, indeed he surely knew, to what great beatitude he would immediately pass from this state of misery.'

In the words of that very beautiful sonnet,[2] which Michelangelo addressed to Vasari when more than eighty years old: 'The course of his life had brought him in a frail bark, over a stormy sea, to that common port, where strict account was to be given of every deed done in the body.' He was resigned, because he had learnt that man's desires here below are but vanity; he recognised that he had been in error, when he had made art the sole idol and monarch of his fancy, and acknowledging that painting and sculpture could no longer give peace to his mind, now turned 'to that divine love, which opened its arms from the cross to receive him penitent.'

Disposition of his remains.

During his illness, Michelangelo had expressed a wish that his body should be taken to Florence, and buried at Santa Croce; but either from ignorance of this desire, or from unwillingness to give up the mortal remains of the illustrious artist, Pope Pius IV. commanded that his funeral obsequies should be celebrated in the

[1] *Funeral Oration*, p. 41, ed. Giunti.

[2] *Fifty-sixth Sonnet*, p. 331, ed. Barbera.

church of the SS. Apostoli, and that his body should remain there until a fitting monument could be erected to him in St. Peter's. They accordingly took place in presence of an immense multitude; but as Florence, so long deprived by Rome of her great son, would not give him up when dead, the body was secretly enclosed in a bale, that no impediment to its removal should arise, and transported to Florence, where it was temporarily deposited in the hall of the Company of the Assumption, behind the church of San Piero Maggiore. As he had been head-master of the Florentine Academy of Design, its members had been bound under pain of six months' forfeiture of membership, to accompany the body on its arrival, and it was carried by them on the following night to Santa Croce, which was crowded by a dense concourse of people. After the case containing the body had been opened in the sacristy, so that those professors of the Academy who had never seen him while living might behold him, it was deposited on a catafalque in the church, where during many days it was honoured, after the wonted Florentine manner, by poetical effusions, such as sonnets, epitaphs, &c. &c.

Founded in 1562.

At the request of the Academy, the Grand Duke consented that a great funeral ceremony should take place at San Lorenzo in the month of July, and the two painters Bronzino and Vasari, with the two sculptors Ammanati and Cellini, were deputed to carry out the arrangements for it. The church was draped with black; a magnificent catafalque, fifty feet high, adorned with figures in stucco, made to imitate marble, and with allegorical and historical paintings, was erected in the nave; and in presence of all the members of the Academy, and an immense number of literati, artists and people, a solemn mass was said, and a pompous oration pronounced by the historian Benedetto Varchi.

Funeral obsequies. July 14, 1564.

From a description of the ceremony,[1] written by Vasari to Duke Cosimo at Caffagiolo, we learn that neither the Duke nor

[1] *Descrizione dell'Esequie &c. &c. Vita di M. A. B.*, p. 163, ed. Barbera.

Cellini were present. For the absence of the former we are quite at a loss to account, but that it did not arise from any want of respect for Michelangelo is rendered certain, not only by the part which he had taken in the preparations for the obsequies, but also by the present of marbles which he subsequently made to Michelangelo's nephew Lionardo Buonarotti, for the monument designed by Vasari and erected at Santa Croce. Cellini, influenced by his jealousy of Ammanati, who had obtained the long-contested commission for the fountain of the Piazza della Signoria, and by his pique against Vasari, who had favoured Ammanati in that matter, did not even assist in the preparations, and doubtless on this account, also absented himself from the ceremony.

Character of Michelangelo.

Considering the calumnies circulated against Michelangelo during his lifetime, and credited by many both before and after his death, a few words upon one or two traits of his character may not here be out of place. His pretended avarice is easily disproved by his refusal to accept any salary for his services as architect of St. Peter's; by his generous gift to Urbino, after he had asked him, 'If I should die, what would you do?' 'I should be obliged,' answered the poor servant, 'to serve another master.' 'Oh, my poor Urbino,' said Michelangelo, 'take these 2,000 scudi to preserve you from such a necessity;' and by his proposal, made in a letter to Cornelia, the widow of Urbino, to adopt her son, who was named for him; by his repeated gifts to the poor at Rome of sums of money varying from two to fifty scudi at a time;[1] and lastly, by the dowers which he gave to twenty-eight young girls in that city to enable them to marry and live honestly. That he was at the same time economical and careful, we see by the accounts, which he kept with the utmost minuteness, of payments to workmen, as well as of items of personal expenditure, such as: 'To Giovanni Giuliano, for two days' wages, 1 lira and 38 soldi.' 'For ribbons purchased for the

[1] Varchi, *op. cit.* p. 36.

daughters of (Lionardo), Buonarotti, 18 soldi.' 'For a braccia of linen,' &c. &c. 'I hereby record that on the 22nd of August, 1533, being in Florence, I went to see my niece at Boldrono, to carry her twenty braccia of cloth for shirts, which cost me twenty-one soldi the braccia.' [1]

As the personal expenses of a man who lived with great sobriety and simplicity, and shunned society because he preferred solitude, were very small, it might be supposed, that in the course of his long life he would have amassed a considerable property; but this was not so, and we have seen by his own statement, how he generally came off the loser in all his great enterprises. Thus after completing the bronze statue of Pope Julius, he states that he considers himself a creditor for more than 1,000 gold ducats;[2] after completing the roof of the Sistine Chapel, for several hundred. The account with the Duke's agents shows, that he had received hardly a third of the sum agreed upon for the Julius Mausoleum, for which, taking into account his expenses, instead of being debtor, he was a creditor for 5,000 scudi.[3] 'The truth is,' says Vasari, 'that instead of leaving a well of gold to his nephew, as everyone expected, he left him but 10,000 ducats.'

Michelangelo was honest, sober, virtuous, industrious, and self-denying; taciturn and apparently morose, and sometimes even surly to those who were openly hostile, intrusive, or uncongenial; proudly independent, and as quick to resent as he was to forgive any insult to his personal or artistical dignity. Generous to a fault, and kind in word and deed to his inferiors, but proud and jealous, when brought into contact with men of superior rank, if he fancied himself misunderstood. Careless of his own interest, as he showed by his sudden departure from Rome after his first

[1] British Museum MSS., fol. 22,731. See Appendix, letter G.

[2] British Museum MS. letter, fol. 23,208.

[3] Ciampi, *op. cit.* pp. 31, 32, note 3. The golden scudo equalled two silver scudi of the present day.

quarrel with Pope Julius, and by his refusal to serve Alessandro de' Medici, whom he despised. Ready to serve his country in her hour of need, as he proved during the siege of Florence, both by his acceptance of the charge of her fortifications, and by his consent to return, and forget the ill-treatment which he had received from her magistrates. In short, he was an example of the loftiest genius, combined with the deepest faith, the highest virtues, and the truest patriotism.

As an artist, without regard to his influence, for which he can hardly be held responsible inasmuch as he worked himself out according to the imperious necessities of his strong nature, we wonder at and admire him; but if we turn our eyes from his works to those of his scholars, who aped his exaggerated development of form, without having that knowledge of anatomy which alone saved it from being absurd, and who taking contorted limbs and impossible attitudes, which were signs of superabundant strength in their master, to be essential elements of the sublime, produced shapes simply monstrous and irredeemably bad, we feel that art paid dearly for Michelangelo. None escaped the 'maniera terribile' of the great Tuscan, not even Raphael, whose early death perhaps saved him from a more complete abandonment of the pure-art doctrines, which he had learnt from his Umbrian master.

We are not prepared to say what fate would have befallen sculpture had he never lived, for we have already pointed out signs of decay in artists who were old men when he was born, such as Pollajuolo, whose vicious style was unredeemed by any sublime element, and in those who enjoyed great reputation contemporaneously with himself, such as Andrea Sansavino, of whose evil influence the bas-reliefs upon the Santa Casa at Loreto may suffice as an example; but as Michelangelo was far stronger than these men, his power for good or for evil upon his times was proportionably greater, and as his peculiarities were especially marked and imitable, while his sublimity was unattainable by men of

inferior stamp, he above all others did harm in his day and generation.

To appreciate how much art had fallen away since the fifteenth century, we have but to remember that while Brunelleschi and Alberti were the great architects before Michelangelo, Vignola and Fontana filled their places after his death; so in sculpture, Desiderio and Mino were then represented by Bandinelli and Montorsoli; and in painting, Ghirlandajo and Perugino, by Vasari and Pontormo.

Could Michelangelo have passed like a comet through the sky without affecting the lesser lights, our admiration of him would have been unmingled with the regret that so much genius and power did not work for good upon his successors.

CHRONOLOGY.

MICHELANGIOLO DI LODOVICO BUONAROTTI SIMONI—	A.D.
Born, March 6, 1475 (Florentine style, 1474) in the castle of Chiusi e Caprese in Casentino	1475
Enters the studio of Domenico Ghirlandajo, April 1	1488
Copies and colours a picture after Martin Schoen's print	1488
Enters the Academy of the Medici garden	1489
Sculptures a Faun's head, and paints the unfinished Madonna and Angels at Stoke Park about this time.	
Bas-relief of the Battle of the Centaurs, Casa Buonarotti	1489—1491
A statue of Hercules, 7 ft. 8 in. high: lost	1492
Wooden Crucifix for the church of S. Spirito: lost	1493
Goes to Bologna: makes an Angel for S. Domenico	1494—1495
Returns to Florence. Sculptures a Sleeping Cupid	1495
Goes to Rome. Sculptures the Adonis (Uffizi), the Bacchus (Uffizi), and a Cupid (Kensington Museum)	1495—1500?
Madonna and Child in the church of Nôtre Dame at Bruges, before	1500
Pietà at St. Peter's	1499—1500
Receives a commission for fifteen statuettes for the Cardinal Piccolomini; hesculptures six, four of which are supposed to be those about the Piccolomini chapel in the Duomo at Siena	1501

	A.D.
Sculptures the David, Rhingiera of the Palazzo Vecchio	1501—1504
Two unfinished bas-reliefs of the Madonna and Child. One in the Uffizi, the other in the Royal Academy at London	1503—1504
Begins the copy of Donatello's David in bronze: lost: finished	1508
Commissioned to make statues of the Twelve Apostles for the Duomo at Florence. One only, the St. Matthew, commenced. Cortile of the Academy at Florence	1503
Paints a Madonna and Child with St. Joseph. Tribune, Uffizi	1503
Draws the Cartoon of Pisa: destroyed	1504—1505
Goes to Rome to make the monument of Julius II.	1505
Goes to Carrara for marbles, and works at Rome upon the statues for this monument	1505—1506
Goes to Bologna, is reconciled to the Pope, and makes his statue in bronze: destroyed 1511	1506—1508
Goes to Rome and commences the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel: finished in 1512–3	1508
Death of Julius II., and (second) contract with his executors to complete his monument on a reduced scale	1513
Election of Leo X., works of monument suspended	1513
Makes a model for the façade of S. Lorenzo for Leo X.	1515
Chiefly at Carrara and Pietra Santa excavating marbles for this façade	1516—1521
A short time at Rome	1518
The statue of Christ at S. Maria sopra Minerva completed	1521
Death of Leo X.	1521
Election of Adrian IV. Michelangelo resumes the monument of Julius II. at Florence	1522
Death of Adrian IV. Election of Clement VII. Works for the Julius monument suspended	1523
Begins the Medici monuments at S. Lorenzo	1524
Michelangelo appointed Commissary-general of the fortifications of Florence	1529
Takes flight from Florence—goes to Ferrara and Venice, Sept.	1529
Returns to Florence and resumes his post, Nov.	1529
Sculptures a figure of Military Glory: lost	1529
Michelangelo works on a picture of Leda for the Duke of Ferrara. The Medici monuments	1529
Fall of Florence, Aug. 12	1530
The Night and Aurora finished, and the Day and Twilight sketched out for the Medici tombs, Sept.	1531
Madonna and Child begun for the Cappella dei Depositi, and the Apollo (Uffizi)	1531—1532
Third contract for the Julius monument, April	1532

	A.D.
Called to Rome by Clement VII. to paint the Last Judgment .	1532
Clement VII. dies. Works at S. Lorenzo suspended, Sept. 23 .	1534
Paul III. elected. Works of monument suspended, Oct. 13 .	1534
Last Judgment already begun. Michelangelo appointed supreme Architect, Sculptor and Painter to the Apostolic Chamber	1535
Last Judgment shown to the public	1541
Fourth and final contract for the monument of Julius II. Museum and Palazzo dei Conservatori commenced .	1542
Appointed Architect of St. Peter's. Constructs the façade of the Farnese Palace	1547
Death of Paul III., Nov. 10	1549
Completion of the frescoes in the Pauline Chapel .	1549—1550
Julius III. elected	1550
Pietà at Palazzo Fevoli (Rome), do. at Palestrina. Deposition from the Cross, Duomo at Florence, completed .	1555—1556
Completes the model of St. Peter's	1558
Michelangelo dies at Rome, Feb. 17	1564
Funeral obsequies at S. Lorenzo, Florence, July 14 . .	1564

CUPID. (By Michelangelo. South Kensington Museum.)

CHAPTER II.

THE SCHOLARS OF MICHELANGELO.

Raffaello da Montelupo, born about 1503, died about 1570.

THE two principal scholars of Michelangelo were Raffaello Sinibaldi da Montelupo (son of the sculptor Bartolomeo),[1] who, as has been mentioned in the life of Michelangelo, was employed to finish the statues for the monument to Pope Julius II.; and Fra Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, who with Montelupo worked under Michelangelo in the sacristy of San Lorenzo. When far advanced in life, Montelupo began to write his autobiography, of which unfortunately only the following fragment exists, as from his intimate relations with Michelangelo, Sangallo, Sansavino, and other eminent artists of his day, we should undoubtedly have found in its lost pages many valuable records of their lives and works.

Autobiography of Raffaello da Montelupo.[2]

His autobiography.

'By the grace of God, the Maker and Giver of all things, I have determined to record all which has happened to me in my life, from the age of ten, when I first knew how to distinguish between good and evil, until my present age, which is sixty-four. It is my intention to relate everything of importance which has

[1] See chapter viii. vol. i. Montelupo is a village about fourteen miles from Florence, near Empoli.

[2] Vasari, vol. viii. p. 189. The original MS. is in the Magliabecchiana Library at Florence. Gaye published it in the third volume of his *Carteggio* and Reumont translated it for the third volume of the *Beiträge zur Italienischen Geschichte.*

happened to me during this time, or, at least, those things which have impressed themselves upon my memory, as most worthy to be heard. Some persons, supposing that I have done this for worldly glory (which I do not altogether deny), may be inclined to murmur at my project, in which they would have reason, had I not been moved at the same time by a greater desire than this, namely, that those who read it (if any one ever does), being acquainted with the prosperous and adverse chances of my life, and the dangers of death which I have incurred, may take counsel from it, if they find themselves similarly situated.

Early life.

'My father, Bartolomeo di Giovanni d'Astorre da Monte Lupo, sculptor, of the Montelupo Sinibaldi family, had a brother named Astorre, resident at Empoli, a castle within fourteen miles of Florence, who, having no male children, begged him to allow me to come and live with him, and obtained his consent by promising that I should not only be of use to him, but that I should learn to read and write free of expense from the schoolmaster there, who was paid for his services by the commune. On my arrival he sent me to school, and he and his wife Costanza, and his two daughters Lisabetta and Smiralda, petted me as if I really belonged to them. At school I learnt to read all kinds of letters, and to write the one kind (della lettera canceleresca) with which the priest, my master (whose name I have forgotten), was acquainted; and, when at home, was employed by my uncle Astorre to write his accounts in a book. I must not forget to mention that I am naturally left-handed; and therefore having my left hand more at my command than my right, I wrote with that according to my inclination, unheeded by my master, who cared only about my writing well; and also drew a few of the battles of the Morgante (which some one in the school was reading) with my left hand. Many people have wondered at this my manner of writing, as it appeared to them better adapted for writing Hebrew than anything else; and it has often happened to me that lookers-on have supposed that what I wrote could not be read. Among

others a Florentine merchant, who had occasion to draw up a receipt of certain monies for a notary, when he saw me write, could not believe it possible that he would be able to read what I had written; but after I had written a line, seeing that he could read it perfectly, he called ten notaries to look at me. After I had made out the receipt, I wrote also with my right hand, which I could then do perfectly well, although I have now given up the practice. Here I may mention, that I am in the habit of drawing with my left hand, and that once, at Rome, while I was drawing the Arch of Trajan[1] from the Colosseum, Michelangelo and Fra Sebastian del Piombo, both of whom were naturally left-handed (although they did not work with the left hand excepting when they wished to use great strength), stopped to see me, and expressed great wonder, no sculptor or painter ever having done so before me, as far as I know.

Returns from Empoli to Florence.

'After I had spent two years at Empoli with my uncle, my father, thinking it time that I should begin to study a profession, desired to have me return to Florence, which I did, to the great sorrow of my uncle and his family, who were extremely attached to me. I had been in the habit of reading books about battles to them in the evening, which pleased my uncle, who had always been a soldier. Nevertheless, they allowed me to depart in company with my aunt, and her brother the Captain Ceo of Empoli. On my return home, my father asked me what profession I wished to follow, to which I persistently answered that of a sculptor; but he, who knew by experience the fatigue and difficulty of this art, wished me rather, if I was determined to be an artist, to become a painter or a goldsmith, and although neither suited my fancy, I, wishing to please him, said I would be a goldsmith.

Studies the goldsmith's art.

Accordingly, he apprenticed me to Michelangelo di Viviano da Gaiuole, one of the most famous goldsmiths in Florence; thinking that as his son Baccio (Bandinelli) was a good sculptor and

[1] He says 'l'arco di Trasi,' meaning the Arch of Constantine, into which parts of the Arch of Trajan are built.

excellent draughtsman, I might study the two arts at the same time, and choose that in which I succeeded best. During the greater part of the two years which I spent with my new master, I was employed in blowing the bellows of his furnace, and sometimes also in drawing. One day, having set me to melt certain gold articles intended for Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, one of which he beat upon the anvil while I heated another, he became engaged in conversation with a friend, and not paying attention when I put down the hot piece and removed the cold, he took up the former and burnt his two fingers, which so enraged him, that crying out and jumping with pain, he pursued me about the shop, without being able to catch me; but at dinner time, as I happened to pass near where he stood, he seized me by the hair, and gave me several hard blows. Angry both for my error, and for his blows, and not being very fond of the goldsmith's trade, or of the continual blowing of bellows, I determined to return to him no more, and remained quietly at home, until a workman was sent from the shop to request my father to send me back. This he wished to do; but in spite of his threats and abuse, I resolutely refused to return. Other goldsmiths offered to take me, as I had a good reputation as a workman, but I would not go, preferring to stay in the studio of my father, who was then at work upon the marble monument of Bishop Pandolfini,[1] for which he was to receive about 2,000 scudi, and in making which he was assisted by many workmen.

'I now began to use the chisel, and to work in marble and clay; and sometimes to draw in the churches of the Carmine, Santa Maria Novella, and the Nunziata, where those who observed me considered that I showed talent. Thus I remained with my father till I was sixteen years old, obtaining such skill with the chisel, that I was allowed to carve leaves, in company with Simon Mosca, Studies sculpture.

[1] Gianozzo Pandolfini, Bishop of Troja, built the Palazzo Pandolfini in the Via S. Gallo at Florence. The monument was begun in his lifetime, and intended for the Badia at Florence. Born 1440; died 1518.

Salvestro Cafacci da Fiesole, Stoldo da Settignano and his younger brother who worked there, and an artist of reputation named Cecilia,[1] who came from Naples to make a monument in the Badia at Florence, which was never executed, on account of the death of the bishop. When I was about sixteen years old, it happened that a stonecutter named Giovanni da Fiesole, who had lately returned from Spain, came to Florence from Carrara in search of a young man who could finish certain figures and roundels, in half-relief, upon the monument of a king of Spain, and of a bishop, which had been commenced there by an excellent Spanish sculptor named Ordonio,[2] and left unfinished at his death, because there was no one at Carrara able to take his place. As there were some of his townsmen employed in my father's studio, Giovanni came there to pay them a visit; and seeing some of my marble and clay figures, which convinced him that I was capable of finishing those sketched out at Carrara, he asked my father to let me go there for that purpose, promising to pay me well. As I was anxious to get away, on account of the constant reproofs administered to me by my father for the expense to which I put him, I urged his consent, which he reluctantly gave.

Goes to Carrara as a sculptor.

'On our arrival at Carrara, Giovanni took me to see a Spaniard called Señor Chivos, who was paymaster and director of the work. When we entered, Señor Chivos having kissed his hand, held it out in order to touch mine; but I, who, having never travelled, knew not what to do, stretched out my left hand, as was natural to me, without kissing it; seeing which, he withdrew his own

[1] Il Cicilia is Antonio Siciliano, who worked much at Milan.

[2] Bartolomeo Ordonnez, a native of Burgos. Frediani says, he died at Carrara in 1520, while employed upon the monument of Cardinal Ximenes, commenced by Domenico di Alessandro da Settignano (born . . . , died 1518), who worked at Carrara in 1508, 1514, 1516, and 1517, in which latter year, as he intended to go to Spain, he made his will. Another Domenico da Settignano is mentioned in two Carrarese documents of 1522 and 1523, as agent of the Cardinal de' Medici. Campori, p. 443. His assistants were two Genoese sculptors, named Tommaso Torre and Adamo Willibaldo. Campori, p. 337, and Gaye, *Appendix*, vol. iii. p. 585.

with a greatly disturbed air, remarking that I was an ill-bred ignorant fellow. My conductor softened him by saying that I had done it through ignorance, and because I was naturally left-handed, and I, with many excuses for the blunder, gave him my right hand. So after two days I was set to work in a studio with twelve sculptors and stonecutters to sculpture the bishop's arms, supported by two children in half-relief, upon a piece of marble five palms high and four wide, and one thick. This I did so satisfactorily that I was ordered to sculpture statuettes of the Four Doctors of the Church, seated; but as Giangiacomo and Girolamo Santa Croce,[1] two Neapolitan sculptors, arrived, who were grown men, and as Giangiacomo especially knew more than I, it was arranged that they should sketch out the figures, and I should finish them; wherefore I worked upon the heads, hair, beards, hands and feet with great diligence for the space of a year, for which I was paid six scudi a month and my expenses. At this time Pope Leo died, after which the Conclave was open in session for a year, before the election of his successor, Pope Adrian, then A.D. 1521. in Spain, who took a year to come to Rome, where he lived three A.D. 1522. years. For this reason the monument advanced slowly, as no money was sent; and many workmen, who had received no pay for more than six months, departed, and I decided to do likewise. In the meantime an agent who had been sent to Spain for money, returned after a long time with a little, which was distributed between the workmen, and my part was sent after me to Lucca, where I had gone to finish a monument to Bishop de' Gigli,[2] in San Michele, begun by my father, who, being obliged to go to Florence, left me to finish the figure of the deceased, and a roundel of the Madonna in half-relief.

Goes to Lucca.

'After remaining at Lucca for little more than half a year, and

[1] One of the best Neapolitan sculptors of the sixteenth century; died in 1537.

[2] Sebastian Gigli, a Lucchese by birth, Bishop of Worcester, and envoy of king Henry VIII. Died 1521 at Rome. This monument was afterwards taken down and sold to a stonecutter.

acquiring so good a reputation that if I had not fallen ill I might have had many important works confided to me, I was seized with a fever, and returned to Florence, where I remained a year without leaving my bed. While I was at Lucca, the city was in a state of tumult on account of the uprising of the Poggibonsi faction, in which the Gonfaloniere (Girolamo Vellutelli) was killed in the palace by Messer Vincenzo di Poggio.[1] I was soon after obliged to return to Florence, having fallen ill, to the great distress of my father and mother, who took me home and nursed me; but as I did not get well till the next year, my father was obliged to go to Lucca to finish the chapel and monument in the church of San Michele, which stands on the great Piazza.

Falls ill and returns home.

'After the death of Pope Adrian, and the accession of Pope Clement, it was expected that many works in sculpture and painting would be executed at Rome, and as it happened that just at this time Maestro Lorenzo del Campanaio, a sculptor of great repute who resided there, arrived at Florence, I often expressed to him my wish to go to Rome; and he, though declining to take me with him for fear of displeasing my father, promised that if I came there he would do what he could for me.'

We must here interrupt the course of Montelupo's narrative in order to give some account of this artist, Lorenzo di Ludovico Lotto,[2] commonly called Lorenzetto, who is first mentioned as the sculptor of the Charity and of the recumbent statue upon the monument of Cardinal Fonteguerra in the Duomo at Pistoja, and known to us as the artist whom Raphael employed to sculpture the Jonah and Elias which he designed for the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome; two of the four prophet statues by which, with three great frescoes, to be painted in the same chapel, he intended to illustrate the prophecies concerning Christ. The death of Raphael and his patron

Lorenzo Lotto. N. A.D. 1490. M. A.D. 1541.

A.D. 1520.

[1] This took place in 1522. Vide *Arch. St. It.* vol. x. p. 385.

[2] His father was a bell maker and caster, named Ludovico Lotti.

Lorenzetto sc.

JONAH

Agostino Chigi, within a few days of each other, when only the Jonah was finished, the Elias hardly begun, and the two other statues not even designed, put a stop to these plans, and Lorenzetto was left to sculpture the Elias, which with the Jonah remained in his studio for thirty-four years, after which they were removed to the Chigi Chapel.[1] The Jonah is so far superior to the Elias, that we may well believe Raphael to have not only designed, but to have worked upon it, or at least to have carefully superintended its execution.[2] It represents a graceful youth (whose head is covered by clustering curls, which overshadow his low brow) riding on a whale, upon the lower jaw of whose open mouth he rests his right foot. In his left hand, which is raised, he holds a portion of his mantle, which falls in folds behind his back, and across his thigh. For grace of line, suppleness of limb, and beauty of feature, this statue merits high praise, which we cannot bestow upon the Elias, who, roused by an angel whispering in his ear, is so feeble in character, and so wanting in significance, that we may suppose it to have been worked out entirely by Lorenzetto, perhaps aided by some slight pencil sketch given him by Raphael. This conjecture is further

Statue of Jonah.

Statue of Elias.

[1] Raphael intended to sculpture these statues himself. We know that he could handle the chisel, through a letter written by Count Castiglione, to Andrea Piperario (his intendant at Rome), in which he tells him to enquire of Giulio Romano whether he still owns the young boy in marble sculptured by Raphael, and if so, at what price he will part with it. This boy is supposed to be identical with the wounded child carried on the back of a dolphin, which is preserved at Down Hill, Ireland, and engraved in the *Penny Magazine* of July 17, 1841. See Passavant's *Raphael d'Urbin et son Père*, trad. Fr. vol. i. p. 206, note 2. Passavant erroneously ascribes to Raphael the design of the Fontana delle Tartarughe at Rome, which was made sixty years after his death, by the Florentine sculptor Taddeo Landini; *vide* the article by Anatole de Montaglon, appended to the French translation of Passavant's work, vol. i. p. 550. The first edition of Vasari, published in 1550, speaks of the two statues as still in Lorenzetto's studio. The second, published in 1568, mentions the Jonah as then in the Chigi Chapel.

[2] Passavant, vol. i. p. 205, states his decided belief that Raphael sculptured this statue himself.

strengthened by Lorenzetto's group, the Madonna del Sasso, placed above that altar of Sta. Maria della Rotonda (the Pantheon), under which Raphael was buried, which is too poor a work to have been sculptured by an artist capable of making the Jonah.

Continuation of Montelupo's Autobiography.

'When I was eighteen or nineteen years old, having by working for a year or two upon many small figures of Christ in wood, and modelling many other subjects in clay, amassed a sufficient sum of money, I went to Rome, in the first year (if I am not mistaken) after the accession of Pope Clement, in company with the painter Jacopo d'Antonio Giallo,[1] and Giovanni del Trombetto. On my arrival, I went to find the before-mentioned Master Lorenzo, who lived at the Macello de' Corvi. He received me with much kindness, and said he would take me into his service, but as he had no room in his house, he desired me to lodge for a few days with a Lombard apprentice named Bartolomeo, until one could be made ready for me, which I was not unwilling to do. I believe he made me do this, in order to see what sort of person I was before he took me to live with him, although in truth there was not much room to spare in his house. At first he set me to work upon a statue of the Madonna, which is now in the Rotonda over the burialplace of Raphael;[2] and in order to see how much I knew, occupied me for three days upon some parts of the drapery, where I could not do much harm; and seeing that he could trust me, he then allowed me to work, with Bartolomeo, on the front of the figure, and I managed so as to finish it almost entirely myself. After this he made me complete the figure of Elias for the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, which was already far advanced, and then sculpture a Saint Bernard and a Saint Stephen, four palms high, with a child

Montelupo goes to Rome.

[1] Son of the Antonio di Jacopo Giallo, painter and illuminator, of whom, according to Zani, notices exist from 1530 to 1562.

[2] The Madonna del Sasso.

between them; and the sepulchral effigy for a monument which he was working on at San Stefano Rotondo.[1] I also restored many antiques; finished some bronze reliefs for the Chigi Chapel; and in short, did whatever he commanded. Thus I remained with him for three years, eating at his table with his wife, mother, sister, and brother, who loved me as if I had been one of the family.

The plague breaks out at Rome.

'At the end of this time the plague, which had visited Rome in the days of Pope Leo, returned and spread rapidly. My master owned a vineyard, near the Church of Santi Quattro, to which all those stricken with the plague were sent; and as it was separated from the Church only by a low wall, these infected people often came into it so that we met them. There, or elsewhere, I took the disease, and the day that a plague-spot broke out on my body, accompanied by fever, I showed it to my master, Lorenzo, who, from having had the plague in his house three or four years before, knew very well what it was; and after looking at me, not wishing to alarm me, but at the same time desiring to get me out of the way, he advised me to take a walk and occupy myself in looking at his Antiques until evening, when he would see how I was. This I did, and happening to meet one of my acquaintances, a mercer named Piero Lapini, we spent the day together. In the evening the plague-spot and the fever had so much increased, that I was out of my head with pain. In this state I went to see my master, who told me what was the matter, and said I must do one of two things—either go and live in the little house in his vineyard, where he would send one of his workmen named Benedetto every day to look after me; or stay in the upper story of his house, where I could be cared for by the women of his household, while he remained abroad to aid and take care of his family. Knowing that he wished me well, I told

[1] This monument was erected to Bernardino Capella, in 1524, Canon of St. Peter's, by his executors, Maffei da Volterra and Jacopo Sadoleto. The 'putino,' by Montelupo, has disappeared.

him I would do what he thought best, and as he himself thought it would be cruel to send me to the vineyard, where I should certainly die for want of care, it being more than a mile from the Macello de' Corvi, he lodged me at the top of his house, with a boy of thirteen, named Vico d' Agobbio, who, as we were fond of each other, was willing to sleep in the room with me. So I was well taken care of by those in the house, and by the druggist and medical man, who did not come into the house, but spoke to me from the window, and ordered what was necessary; though they thought that I could not recover, and my death was even reported at Florence. In all my dangers I have always recommended myself to God and our Lady, and by her grace have escaped from death so many times (of which escapes I have not told the third part for fear of being tedious), that I wonder myself that I am still alive.

Montelupo recovers from the plague.

'After an illness of some fifty days I recovered, when my master having no other work for me, I restored some antiques for the Marchioness of Mantua.[1] Very little work was to be had at this moment on account of the disturbed state of the country, as about this time the 'Bande Nere' returned from the territory of the

Sept. 20, 1526.

Colonnas, where they had done much harm. Then came the Cardinal Colonna, who sacked St. Peter's and the Borgo, and would have seized Pope Clement, if he had not taken refuge in the Castle. After this I returned to my lodgings, in a house belonging to my master, situated in the Borgo, opposite the Osteria of the Leofanti, where I began to make a Hercules strangling the serpent, for the Pope's treasurer, Messer Domenico Buoninsegni, a Florentine, who, being a friend of my father, wished to help me. He promised to show it to the Pope when it was finished, and procure me a commission; but, as my good or evil fortune would have it, before this happened, the Lancers

A.D. 1527.

took and sacked the Borgo and all Rome. The day before this,

[1] Isabella d' Este, wife of Francesco XI. de Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in 1539.

Piero Lapini came to my house, to persuade me to fly with him towards Tivoli, as the city was in a state of confusion, and he was lucky who could hide his property in a place which seemed safe, although nothing was saved in the end, excepting those things which were put into the Castle. Lapini's advice appeared to me excellent, but most dangerous to act upon, as cruel assassinations were constantly committed in the streets.

Montelupo takes refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo.

'Not having time to save even my drawings (of which there were a great quantity, as I had drawn all the antiquities of Rome), I quitted the house, leaving behind me the Infant Hercules, which was almost completed, as well as my bed and all my property, except two shirts, my woollen clothes, my hat, sword, and dagger, and accompanied my friend to the Castle, where a great tumult had arisen on account of the passage of the troops under Captain Lucantonio da Terni, who were returning from the meadows where they had been skirmishing with the advanced guard of the Lancers (of whom they spoke as a terrible rabble), with three or four prisoners. As soon as I had passed the gate, I saw my master working as a bombardier, in the place of his brother Guglielmo, who had gone to Florence on business; and he, seeing me, called me to him, and told me that he would get me a place as bombardier, with a salary of six scudi a month,—an offer which he counselled me to accept, as he feared I might otherwise fare badly. I hesitated, although his advice seemed wise, both because I did not like to be shut up in the Castle, and because I did not wish to abandon my companion, who totally refused to enter, although he might have obtained the same post as myself. At last I prayed God that he would make me take the right course, and as it seemed to me that I ought to obey my master, I entered, and having received sixty pieces of silver, was put in charge of two pieces of artillery on the side towards the Belvedere.

'The next day, which was the seventh of May, there was a battle under the walls about the Torione, Fornace, and San Spirito

gates, where the Captains Lucantonio of Terni, Tofano of Pistoia, and Cino of Florence, kept guard, all of whom, excepting the first, were killed; and the wall having been forced, the enemy entered the city about two o'clock, and sacked St. Peter's, the Vatican, and the Borgo. The Pope managed to save himself with some of his chamberlains, by entering the Castle through the secret passage, followed by a great number of people. As soon as the bridge was raised, those who were in front, pushed by those behind them, fell into the moat, and few escaped alive, because of the great height. Some let themselves slide down certain beams which stood there, and so arrived safely at the bottom, but few even of these escaped falling into the enemy's hands, as the portcullis of the Castle was let down so that none might pass; still, as it did not touch the ground by about two palms, a few with difficulty, and by rushing in great haste, managed to get inside.

Progress of the siege.

'In the meantime we stood looking on at what was passing, as at a fête, unable to fire, for fear of killing many more friends than enemies. More than 4,000 or 5,000 persons, pursued as far as we could see by about fifty Lancers, were crowded into the space between the Church of the Traspontina and the gates of the Castle; and two of the enemy's standard-bearers were borne inside the gate with the crowd, and killed below the bridge. Towards evening we saw the enemy make an assault upon the walls of the Trastevere at the Pancrazio and Settignana gates, but though we fired many times at them, we did little harm, on account of the great distance.

'At last our people were overcome, and the invaders having forced an entrance, overran and sacked the whole city for more than fifteen or twenty days. We who were in the Castle were well off, except that we wanted food, on account of which we feared that we should eventually be obliged to surrender, especially as on the very first day after Rome fell into the enemy's hands, they began to make trenches round the Castle

from the river beyond the moat to the Traspontina sewer, so that after ten days the Castle was completely surrounded, and no one could come in or go out without falling into their hands, unless by the river, which none but a good swimmer could attempt.

'Thus we remained all the month of June, expecting that the allies would come to succour the Pope.[1] When this hope proved fallacious we tried to come to terms, about which I could tell many incidents; as, for instance, how a gentleman named Catinaro, who came several times to the Castle to make a treaty, was on one occasion hit in the arm by one of the soldiers, who fired at him with a harquebuss. The arrangements were consequently interrupted for many days, but at last an agreement was made, by which the Pope, with his property and the people in the Castle, were promised security, on condition that a certain sum of money should be paid by his Holiness and by the merchants and gentlemen who were with him. When these things happened, I was about twenty-three years old, more or less.'

Causes of the siege of Rome.

The terrible events of which Montelupo was a witness, and of which the above account here abruptly terminates, had been brought upon the doomed city by the vacillating policy of Pope Clement VII., who now carried on secret negotiations with France, which were broken off when Francis I. was captured at the battle of Pavia; and then having openly joined the league made at Cognac in the following year, between the French King, the Venetians, and Francesco Sforza, covertly concluded a secret treaty with the Imperialists,[2] upon which he so fully relied for

Feb. 24, 1525.

[1] The Duke of Urbino, at the head of 15,000 troops, marched within sight of the city, with the avowed intention of rescuing the Pope, but, despite the entreaties of his officers, and the eloquent appeal of Guicciardini, the historian, he, under pretence that the city was too strongly defended, marched back to Orvieto, leaving Clement to his fate. He was, in fact, too hostile to the Medici, because Leo X. had deprived him of his duchy in 1516, to succour a member of their house.

[2] Headed by the Duke of Bourbon, and backed by the German Landsknechts, under George of Frondsberg.

the safety of his dominions, that he disbanded nearly all his troops, whom, when he at last became convinced of the real intentions of the Constable de Bourbon, he replaced by such mercenaries as he could collect in haste.

On May 5, 1527, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, the terror-stricken Romans beheld the hostile army, with its savage hordes of Spanish and German soldiers, pouring over the heights of Monte Mario, and swarming like locusts in the valley of the Tiber. 'We came' (says Benvenuto Cellini) 'to the walls of the Campo Santo, whence we beheld that marvellous army struggling to force an entrance. At that part of the wall where we stood lay many young men slain, for there and around us raged the battle. The fog was as dense as could possibly be imagined. Turning to my companion, Alessandro del Bene, I said, "Let us return home as quickly as possible, for here there is nothing to be done; you see how the assailants scale the walls, and the defenders fly." To which Alessandro, being frightened, replied, "Would to God we had never come!" and turned to run away in great haste; seeing which, I cried out, "Since you have brought me here, I will at least behave like a man;" and aiming my harquebuss at the thick of the fight, where I saw one man raised above the rest, I fired, and then showed my companions how to do the like, without risk to themselves. Having each done this twice, I approached cautiously to the wall, and saw an extraordinary tumult, caused by our having killed Bourbon, who, as I afterwards heard, was the man that I had seen raised above the rest.'[1]

Cellini's account.

May 6.

In the meantime, Clement VII., convinced that the few troops at his command, with the citizen volunteers, were quite incapable of saving him, caused all available stores to be hastily

[1] All accounts agree in the death of the Constable Bourbon having been caused by a shot from the walls, but that Cellini fired it, rests upon his own somewhat suspicious authority. The Prince of Orange was chosen leader in his stead.

collected from the neighbouring shops and placed in the Castle of St. Angelo, and with trembling steps betook himself to that stronghold, followed by twelve cardinals, and his household attendants. The dense fog referred to by Cellini, still hung over the city like a pall, and not only prevented its defenders from taking certain aim, but covered the operations of the besiegers, whose attack was especially directed against a quarter near the Porta Sto. Spirito. Near this gate, some Spanish soldiers, who had, either by accident or through treachery, discovered a subterranean window opening into a small house built into the wall, of which they easily forced away the iron bars, penetrated into the city, and appeared as if by magic before a reinforcement of infantry under Renzo da Ceri, commander of the city troops, who on seeing them, believed that the last hope of resistance was gone, and advising his companions to save themselves as best they might, led the way in precipitate flight down the Lungara to the Ponte Sisto, followed by the enemy, who, with cries of 'Evviva Spagna! amazza, amazza!' slaughtered them like sheep. The troops stationed upon the walls, beholding the flight of their captain, and the entrance of the enemy into the city, also abandoned their posts, and joined the immense crowd of prelates, nobles, merchants, courtesans, and soldiers, who in a compact mass flocked to the Castle, into which as many as three thousand forced an entrance before the guards could close the gates, while many others perished, and the rest spread themselves through the city in search of hiding places.

The enemy penetrate into the city.

The unfortunate Cardinal Pacci, who found himself in this fear-maddened crowd, being unable to reach the Castle before the gates were closed, and being severely wounded in the head and shoulders, was thrust by his servants through a small window intended for the introduction of provisions into the Castle, where he fell half dead at the feet of its inmates; while Cardinal Armellini, having lingered in his palace to conceal his property, also arrived too late and thundered in vain for

Cardinal Pacci.

Cardinal Armellini.

entrance. 'At this crisis,' says De Rossi,[1] 'one of his friends who was looking out of a window saw him, and lowered a basket attached by a cord, into which the cardinal got as quickly as possible, trembling with fear; and whilst Giacomo Salviati, the writer of these memoirs, the Archbishop of Capua, Albert Pio, Orazio Borghini and other cavaliers, stood leaning out from above to see the spectacle, the cord suddenly broke, and the unfortunate cardinal, instead of being received by his friends, who were watching him with palpitating hearts, fell precipitately, and was killed, to the great grief of all, who for fright dared not open their lips.'

After an interview with the Cardinal de Portogallo, whom the Pope had sent to negotiate, the Prince of Orange proposed a treaty, but in vain; his soldiers had become so inflamed by the sight of the coveted prize actually within their grasp, that they bore down all opposition, and with a tremendous sound of trumpets, and with cries which struck terror into the hearts of all who heard them, proclaimed their intention of reaping the fruits of their valour.

Terrible position of the city.

To comprehend the terrible position of the doomed city we must remember, that the men who thus had her in their power were bound together only by the hope of booty, irrespective of the means by which it was to be obtained; that their chosen leader was dead; that they were maddened with hunger, and clamorous for pay long in arrears; and that the German Landsknechts among them had been taught to look upon Rome as the city of the devil, and upon the Pope as Antichrist, whose destruction would be a service rendered to Christendom. Ignorant of what Luther meant when he preached and wrote against Rome as the source of all iniquity, they drank to him, under the very walls of St. Angelo, as the true Pope, and rushed to plunder

[1] *Memoirs of Monsignor Francesco de Rossi*, transcribed by his grandson.

and murder with his name upon their lips.[1] Inflamed by fanaticism and passion, and unrestrained by respect for religion, they fell upon their prey like wild beasts; and, like legions of devils let loose from hell, spared neither the innocent nor the helpless in the gratification of their avarice and lust. Everywhere were to be seen desecrated churches; altars plundered of their sacred vessels; palaces sacked of their contents; streets filled with men robed in the rich garments of cardinals and bishops, reeling in drunken mirth; and everywhere was heard the cry of despairing mothers, ruined maidens, dying children, and men tortured to force confession of the places in which they were supposed to have concealed their treasures. Many preferring death precipitated themselves from the windows and roofs of the houses; while others vainly tried to hide themselves in cellars, sewers, and secret lurking places, whence they were dragged forth to slaughter by soldiers more savage than tigers and more pitiless than stones.

Horrible excesses.

'For many days,' continues Rossi, 'the only persons who passed through the streets of Rome were mercenaries loaded with cases, sacks full of gold and silver, and countless packages filled with splendid ornaments sacrilegiously stolen from the churches, and the richest stuffs taken from the palaces, trophies of a triumph over the vain luxury and proud pomp of Roman greatness. The Goths, who sacked Rome in the year of our Lord 980, found the city less rich in private wealth, although the booty which they obtained by robbing the churches and spoiling the holy relics of their precious ornaments was immense, and according to Cardinal Baronius of inestimable value. Nevertheless the spoil obtainable in the houses of the prelates and ecclesiastics of that time was so meagre, that those barbarians did not even deign to turn towards them; for there is this difference between the ancient and the modern Papal court (although the tenth century

Rossi's account.

[1] Grimm, vol. ii. pp. 87 and 88.

was less virtuous than any ever known among Christians), that the prelates of the earlier time, aspiring only to piety, studied humility and self-abasement, instead of aiming, like the prelates and other ecclesiastics of modern times, to adorn their palaces with indecent and excessive luxuries.'

It might have been supposed, that the known partisans of the Imperial faction would have escaped the common doom; but this was not the case, for even the Cardinal Colonna, who had so far counted upon his influence as to give the Constable de Bourbon a list of the buildings which he wished spared, saw the Cancelleria which belonged to him given up to the soldiers, and numbers who had taken refuge there massacred in cold blood; while his friend Cardinal Ponzetti, of whose devotion to the Emperor there could be no doubt, not only had his palace sacked, but was personally insulted and maltreated; as was the Cardinal of Araceli, who dressed in his ecclesiastical robes was carried through the streets on a bier, with lighted torches, to his titular church, where a mock funeral oration of a blasphemous character was pronounced over him by a drunken ruffian.

Hope of release dawned upon Pope Clement when he heard that the Duke of Urbino, at the head of 15,000 men, had arrived in sight of the city; but it vanished, when despite the urgent entreaties of his officers, and the eloquent appeals of Guicciardini, who was in his camp, he withdrew to Orvieto. The Duke justified this course on the plea that Rome was too strongly defended; but the real reason of his unwillingness to succour the unfortunate Pope lay in the hatred of the Medici which Leo X. had roused when he robbed him of his duchy in order to bestow it upon Lorenzo de' Medici.

Deprived of all aid, the Pope was finally obliged to subscribe to the exorbitant demands of his enemies, and conclude a treaty with them, in which it was stipulated that he should remain a prisoner until the promised sums were paid, and some of the most important towns and fortresses in his dominions given up to the

Prince of Orange. To raise 400,000 scudi for his ransom, he gave bonds upon church property for 150,000, and paid a part of the rest with the gold and silver that remained to him, and with such candelabra, vases, crucifixes, and precious ornaments as he had been able to save. Cellini tells us that the Pope made him secretly melt down the gold settings of the pontifical jewels, which weighed about 200 pounds, and that he concealed the precious stones in the lining of his own dress, and in that of one of his adherents named Cavalierino.

But although the Pope fulfilled the conditions of the treaty, by giving hostages into the hands of the enemy for the sum which he was unable to pay, he was kept close prisoner in the Castle, and his promised liberation was delayed under various pretexts, till at last on December 8, after an imprisonment of seven months, aggravated by every possible privation, and the constant fear of enemies without, and pestilence and famine within, he made his escape in the disguise of a merchant, by the connivance of Luigi Gonzaga, captain of the Imperial cavalry, and accompanied by a few followers arrived safely at Orvieto on the 10th.

Dec. 10, 1527.

Raffaello da Montelupo must have contrived to get out of Rome several months sooner, as he was at Loreto in the autumn, working under Antonio di Sangallo upon the bas-reliefs for the chapel of the Santa Casa, of which he finished those representing the Marriage and Assumption of the Madonna, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi.

Raffaello da Montelupo goes to Loreto.

Upon the accession of Alessandro de' Medici, he returned to Florence, where Michelangelo employed him to sculpture a statue of S. Damiano, for the Cappella dei Depositi at S. Lorenzo, after his design, of which task he acquitted himself with ability.

Returns to Florence, A.D. 1530.

Less scrupulous than his master about serving tyrants, he also sculptured the arms of the Emperor Charles V. supported by two nude genii of life-size, and those of Alessandro de' Medici, upon the Fortezza da Basso,[1] and then went to Rome, where

[1] Alessandro de' Medici wished Michelangelo to build this fortress; but as

He is employed at Rome, A.D. 1536.

Pope Paul III. employed him to model fourteen statues in clay and stucco, to adorn the Ponte St. Angelo for the entry of the Emperor, who after passing through the Via Sacra which had been widened expressly for the occasion by the destruction of portions of several ancient buildings,[1] and under a triumphal arch designed by San Gallo, and covered with statues of Austrian princes and enchained captives, went over the Ponte St. Angelo to St. Peter's, to pray at the Apostle's tomb and kiss the Pope's feet, after which he retired to the Vatican, where he dwelt during the thirteen days he spent at Rome. When we remember that it was only nine years since this very Emperor had stood aloof whilst Rome was sacked by ruffians who called him their master, we do not wonder at the feeling of a young Roman who told his father, that when standing with him on the dome of the Pantheon, he had been seized by a desire to precipitate the monarch through its central aperture; to which the wise father replied, 'My son, such deeds may be done, but not talked about.'

Triumphal entry of Charles V. into Florence.

The rapid movements of Charles V. gave Montelupo hardly time to precede him to Florence; where, in the wonderfully short space of fourteen days, he modelled two gigantic statues of the Rhine and the Danube, for the Ponte Santa Trinità. 'On his arrival,[2] the Emperor was met at the Porta Romana by the clergy, bearing crosses; with all the splendidly dressed magistrates of the (so-called) Florentine Republic; and by forty noble youths dressed in the Emperor's livery, which was of purple satin, with white stockings, silver-mounted swords and daggers sheathed in purple velvet, and gold-bespangled caps with a white plume on the left side. These noble attendants received him at the outer gate, under a rich baldacchino, made of brocade, and escorted him to Duke Alessandro de' Medici, who was waiting on horseback

he hated the tyrant, he replied that he was in the Pope's service, and could not do so. It was built in 1534.

[1] The Basilica of Constantine among others. *Mémoires de Du Bellay*, livre v., Gournerie, vol. ii. p. 170.

[2] April 29, 1536. Varchi, vol. ii. p. 170.

to present the city keys, which, having been graciously accepted, were immediately returned to him. Surrounded by this magnificent assembly, the Emperor, mounted on a white horse, and dressed in a cassock of purple velvet, and hat of the same with a white feather on the left side, and with a little chain of gold about his neck, proceeded (under the baldacchino) through the streets, which were spanned by triumphal arches, and decorated with inscriptions and statues, across the Ponte Santa Trinità to the Duomo, where he heard mass, and then went with like pomp to the Palazzo de' Medici, where he was splendidly entertained by the Duke during seven days. The day of his departure he heard mass at San Lorenzo, and afterwards visited "that marvellous sacristy made by Michelangelo Buonarotti, Florentine sculptor, who is justly considered one of the lights of Florentine glory."'

Montelupo employed by Michelangelo. A.D. 1542.

Satisfied with the work which Montelupo had executed under his direction at San Lorenzo, Michelangelo, in making his final contract with the Duke of Urbino for the tomb of Pope Julius, designated him to finish the statues of Active and Contemplative Life, and sculpture those of a prophet and a sibyl.[1] Being out of health at the time, he accomplished his task so poorly, that Michelangelo was greatly dissatisfied and did not scruple to say so. He was however himself in part to blame for the result, as the models which he gave his scholars were little more than sketches which no one but himself could thoroughly understand, and which could only be successfully worked out under his constant supervision.

While architect of the Castle of St. Angelo, Montelupo adorned many of its fireplaces, doors, and windows, with ornaments in stone; and sculptured a marble angel for its summit,[2] which

[1] By his contract with Michelangelo, dated February 20, and August 23, 1542, in which three figures are mentioned as already blocked out, Montelupo agreed to finish the four in eighteen months' time for 400 scudi. MS. British Museum, Nos. 17 and 19, vol. xxii. 731.

[2] This angel, says Bottari, being much injured, was replaced by one of bronze cast by Giardoni, during the last century.

may still be seen in a niche on the principal staircase. It is a short clumsy figure, poorly conceived, and wanting in expression.

He also made the effigy of Leo X. for his tomb at Santa Maria sopra Minerva; and a monument to Messer Baldassare Turini, for the Duomo at Pescia, which is stated to be his best work;[1] and then retired to Orvieto, where as architect and inspector-general of the Duomo, he spent his last years in making a bas-relief of the Adoration of the Magi, and in designing ornaments for the chapel of the Magi in that magnificent temple. He died at the age of sixty-six, and was buried in the same tomb with his friend the sculptor Simon Moscha, 'ut qui in vita, conjunctissimi fuerunt in morte.'[2]

A.D. 1569 or 1570.

Il Moscha. N. 1496. M. 1554.

It will be remembered that Montelupo in his Autobiography mentions his friend Simon Cioli da Settignano, called Il Moscha, as one of the young men employed in the workshop of his father. This artist was a decorative sculptor, who showed his great skill and inventive power in the rich ornaments which he made for the Cappella Cesia at Santa Maria della Pace at Rome,[3] and in the capitals, cornices, masks and festoons for the chapel of the Magi in the Duomo at Orvieto, for which he also sculptured a bas-relief of

[1] This Balthasar Turini, born 1481, died after 1541, was the son of a famous jurisconsult, and himself learned in 'belles lettres' and philosophy. Introduced at the court of Rome by the famous physician Andrea Turini, he obtained the title of Monsignore, and was appointed to the post of 'Datario' under Leo X. and Clement VII. Paul III. appointed him 'official clerk' to the Apostolic Chamber. He was a great friend of Raphael, who named him his testamentary executor. Montelupo's monument is in very poor taste architecturally, nor is it much better sculpturally. The prelate half rises in an uneasy attitude from the top of a sarcophagus, supported upon consoles exceedingly in bad taste, on either side of which are seated two naked genii, holding flaming vases in a weak Michelangelesque style. *Vide* Gaye, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 286, for Turini's letters to Cosimo I. about Baccio Bandinelli. This monument is engraved in Gozzini's *Mon. Sep. de la Toscane.*

[2] Della Valle. *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto*, p. 323.

[3] See Plates 30–35 in Tosi's *Mon. Sep. di Roma*, vol. ii.

the Adoration.[1] He was assisted in his labours by his son Francesco, called Il Moschino, who sculptured three angels, a God the Father with angels in a half-roundel, a Visitation, and a St. Sebastian in the same chapel.[2] The last twelve years of his life were spent at Carrara, where he found a generous patron in Cardinal Cibo, for whom he made some statues, and who presented him with a piece of land on condition that he should build a house upon it of his own design, and who afterwards in giving him written permission to sell a portion of it, added that 'he prayed him not to waver in his love and attachment to Carrara.'[3] A.D. 1560–1571.

Montorsoli. N. 1500. M. 1563.

Frà Giovan' Angelo Montorsoli,[4] the fellow-worker of Montelupo under Michelangelo at San Lorenzo, was the son of Michele d'Agnolo da Poggibonsi, who, struck with his son's early passion for drawing, set him to work as a stonecutter in the quarries of Fiesole, where he had the good fortune to attract the notice of the sculptor Andrea Ferrucci,[5] who instructed him for three years, after which he went to Rome in company with other young men of his profession, and obtained employment at St. Peter's. On leaving that city he went to Perugia, where at the end of a year he was put at the head of the studio in which he had obtained employment; but finding that he knew more than the people about him, and anxious for improvement, he proceeded to Volterra, and assisted in sculpturing the monument of Raffaello Maffei, called Il Volterrano, famous for his Latin versions of many valuable Greek works, and for his 'Commentaria Urbana.' In the latter part of his life, he restricted his studies to theology, lived completely retired from the world, slept upon straw, mortified his body by the most parsimonious diet, and by N. 1454. M. 1522.

[1] Della Valle, *op. cit.* Doc. 89, says that Simon Moscha and Montelupo worked together on the altar of the Magi, and spent twenty-five years in completing it.

[2] Finished 1552. Della Valle, *op. cit.* p. 325.

[3] Campori, *op. cit.* p. 327. Francesco had a son Simon, sculptor and architect, who died at Parma in 1610.

[4] Montorsoli is a village about three miles from Florence.

[5] *Vide* vol. i. ch. viii.

frequent fastings and flagellations. After his death he was buried in the church of San Lino, in connection with which he had founded a Convent of Holy Virgins.[1]

Montorsoli is employed by Michelangelo at San Lorenzo.

Finding that he could learn no more at Volterra than at Perugia, and hearing that Michelangelo was enlisting the best artists to work in the Sacristy and Library of San Lorenzo, Montorsoli next went to Florence, where he soon gave such proofs of ability, that he received the appointment which he desired, with a salary equal to that of the most practised masters; but with the troubles of 1527, the works at San Lorenzo were suspended, and our sculptor, being thus thrown out of occupation, retired to the house of his uncle Giovanni Norchiati, at Poggibonsi, where he spent his time in drawing and studying. These peaceful occupations were, however, little in harmony with the state of the times, and as Montorsoli had no taste for war, and

[1] Raphael Maffei, praised by Politian for his literary works, and cited by Ariosto in the *Orlando Furioso* as one of the first men of his day.

'O dotta compagnia, che seco mena
Fedra, Cappella, Porzio, il Bolognese,
Filippo, il *Volterrano*, il Maddalena.'

At the age of twenty-five, Sixtus IV. gave him to the Cardinal of Aragon as his secretary in the new legations of Hungary and Ferrara, after which he returned home, and consecrated the rest of his life to the service of God. In 1526, Sylvio da Fiesole (Cosini) was appointed to make his monument, by his brother Marino Maffei, Bishop of Cavaillon; but Sylvio having finished the head of the sepulchral effigy, went to Genoa, and Stagi of Pietrasanta (as we learn through a letter addressed to Monsignor Marino, by Camillo Incontri, November 30, 1531), offered to finish it. Probably Sylvio finished the statue which he had begun after his return from Genoa; Stagi made the ornaments, and Montelupo the statuettes in niches of the Archangel Raphael and St. Gherardo Cagnoli of Valcuria. The monument architecturally is in the Renaissance style. Il Volterrano's right arm rests on a skull placed upon a book; a band, inscribed 'Sic itur ad astra,' passes from the right to the left hand of the figure, which lies in a half-recumbent posture. The entablature and side pilasters are ornamented with cherubim's heads, vases, &c. &c., and in the base is a tablet with an inscription, borne by angels. Engraved in Gozzini's *Mon. Sep. de la Toscane*, p. 135. See *Elogi d' Uomini Illustri Toscani*, vol. ii. p. 175.

was not enough of a patriot to fight for his country, he determined to retire to Camaldoli and become a monk. But neither there nor at La Vernia was he able to bear the many fasts and privations endured by the brotherhood, and it was not till his return to Florence soon after the siege was raised, that he found what he desired in the convent of the Servi, where he took the vows, satisfied that he could simultaneously pursue his art and take care of his soul. A.D. 1530.

At a very early hour one morning,[1] shortly after the expulsion of Ippolito and Alessandro de' Medici, a band of young men had entered the Annunziata, and destroyed the wax statues of Popes Leo X. and Clement VII., thus setting an example which was followed by the magistrates, who decreed that all the arms of the Medici which had been set up during the last fifteen years, both within and without the city, should be removed. After the return of the Medici to power, the monks of the Servi (whose convent adjoins the Annunziata) desired by the restoration of these images to prove to Pope Clement, who had been particularly irritated by their destruction, that they had been in no wise implicated in this high-handed act of disrespect to his family, and having Montorsoli among their number, they employed him to remodel them. This made his name known to the Pope, who being in need of a sculptor capable of restoring certain antique statues in the Belvedere, followed the advice of Michelangelo, and requested the general of the Servites to send Montorsoli to Rome, where on his arrival he had living and working rooms given him in the Belvedere, and enjoyed constant opportunities of seeing His Holiness, who when taking his daily walk in the adjoining gardens, never failed to visit him in order to see the drawings which he passed his nights in making. Pleased with his diligence, the Pope conceived a great affection for him, and allowed him to make his bust, and restore A.D. 1527.

Montorsoli employed by Pope Clement VII. at Rome.

[1] Varchi, *op. cit.* lib. v. vol. i. p. 256.

the left arm of the Apollo Belvedere and the right arm of the Laocoon.

He again works under Michelangelo at San Lorenzo.

When Michelangelo resumed his labours at San Lorenzo, the Pope at his request consented to let Montorsoli return to Florence, where he aided in finishing the statues of Lorenzo and Giuliano, and sculptured the statue of San Cosimo, which Michelangelo himself retouched in many parts, and the head and hands of which he modelled in clay. This statue is the best work produced by any of Michelangelo's scholars or imitators, and decidedly superior to the St. Damiano of Montelupo, to which it forms a pendant; the head is expressive, and the whole work sufficiently individual to indicate that Montorsoli did the greater part of it himself. After Michelangelo's return to Rome, Montorsoli continued to work at San Lorenzo during two years, when the

A.D. 1534. death of Pope Clement having again caused the works in progress there to be suspended, Michelangelo, who hoped to resume his labours on the monument of Pope Julius, urged him to come to Rome and assist him; but as Paul III. would not allow him to

He goes to Paris. do so, Montorsoli went to Paris, with letters of recommendation from Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici to Cardinal Tournon, who procured him a royal order for four statues, with a fixed salary. Before he could even finish his models for these figures, he found that in the absence of the king it was well nigh impossible to obtain money from his treasurer, and that he had great difficulty in carrying out his wishes; therefore, after writing letters explanatory of his conduct to the king and the cardinal, he travelled

He returns to Florence. back to Florence, and was employed with other sculptors to adorn the Ponte Sta. Trinità with allegorical figures, when

A.D. 1536. the Emperor Charles V. made his triumphal entry into the city. About this time he sculptured the extremely mannered and very Michelangelesque statues of Moses and St. Paul, in the Painters' Chapel of the Annunziata; and a monument to the Cardinal Dionisio Beneventano (General of the Servi) for the church of San Piero at Arezzo; after terminating which he

went to Naples, in the hope of obtaining a commission for the tomb which was then about to be erected to the Neapolitan poet Jacopo Sannazzaro, in the church of Sta. Maria del Parto, which he had founded. As his executors and the monks of this church disagreed about the choice of a sculptor, the first preferring Girolamo Santacroce, and the latter Montorsoli, the commission was given to them jointly; but as Santacroce died after commencing the poet's bust, and a bas-relief in which he introduced Pan, satyrs, nymphs and shepherds in allusion to the Poet's Arcadia, Montorsoli was left to complete them and the rest of the monument, whose general arrangement had probably been planned by Santacroce.[1]

Goes to Naples.

N. 1458. M. 1532.

A.D. 1537.

The sarcophagus upon which Sannazzaro's bust stands between 'putti' bearing wreaths of flowers, is supported upon consoles, whose pedestals rest upon a sculptured base. The Arcadian bas-relief fills up the square space between the consoles, outside of which are well-modelled and highly finished colossal statues of Minerva and Apollo, whose resemblance to Michelangelo's style at once points them out as the work of his scholar. The names of Judith and Moses, with which they are inscribed, were given to them by the monks, in order to save them from the rapacity of a Spanish governor, who under pretence that Pagan deities were out of place in a church, wished to take them into his own possession.[2]

Tomb of Sannazzaro.

Although Vasari tells us that Montorsoli went to Genoa as early as 1535, we are inclined to think that he did not do so until after his return from Naples to Florence, where he had already

[1] De Domenici, *Vita di Santacroce*, vol. ii. p. 155, and *Guida degli Scienziati*, vol. i. p. 401.

[2] Upon the site of this church formerly stood a villa called Margellina, which was presented to Sannazzaro by king Frederick of Naples, 'a place of no great utility, says his biographer (G. B. Crispo), but charming for its amenity. The poet sang its praises in one of his odes, beginning

'Rupis, o sacræ pelagique custos,
Villa nympharum domus.'

Circa 1539.

begun a group of Hercules and Antæus, destined to surmount the fountain in the garden of Duke Cosimo's villa at Castello, when he received a letter from Cardinal Doria, inviting him to make a statue of Prince Doria, which had been previously ordered from Baccio Bandinelli, who on various pretexts had neglected to fulfil the commission.

Montorsoli's acceptance of this order enraged Bandinelli, who with his usual malice employed every means to lower Montorsoli in the Duke's eyes; and his intrigues, and those of the Duke's majordomo, Pier Francesco Ricci, whom Cellini mentions in his Autobiography as a 'bestia,'[1] rendered his position so intolerable, that he gladly departed for Genoa, taking with him his nephew Angelo, and a sculptor named Martino di Bartolomeo, who assisted him in making the statue of Prince Doria,[2] and in

Montorsoli goes to Genoa.

When Lautrec besieged Naples, in 1528, Margellina was destroyed by the Prince of Orange, much to the anger of Sannazzaro, who subsequently established upon its ruins a convent of Servites, which he endowed with a perpetual annuity of 300 ducats. The church connected with it, in which, as we have said, he was buried, was called 'Del Parto,' from his most celebrated poem 'Del Parto della B. Virgine.' This poem, upon which he worked during twenty years of his life, was preceded in his early youth by the Arcadia, and followed by the Elegies, Epigrams, and Piscatorie, to which latter Ariosto refers in these lines:

'Giacobo Sannazar, che a le Camene
Lasciar fẹ i monti, e habitar l' arene.'

How greatly his Epigrams were esteemed, is proved by the statement of Manutino, that for the following one he was paid a hundred scudi a line by the Venetian republic.

'Viderat Hadriacis Veneta Neptunus in undis
Stare urbem, et toto ponere jura mari.
"Nunc mihi Tarpeias quantumvis Juppiter arces
Objice, et illa mœnia Martis," ait:
"Si pelago Tiberim præfers, urbe adspice utrâque,
Illam homines dices, hanc posuisse Deos."'

[1] Cellini, *Vita*, pp. 385–387.

[2] We know nothing about Prince Doria's statue. Two statues were erected to the famous Admiral Andrea Doria, during his lifetime, by the Genoese senate, in gratitude for his great services to the republic; the first in 1528; the second in 1551. The two colossal torsos in the cloisters of San Matteo are all that remains of these two statues, which were thrown down in 1797.

adorning the church of S. Matteo with many works in marble and stucco.

Although, like the greater part of Montorsoli's works, the four Evangelists on one of the two pulpits at San Matteo, those in the choir, and the Pietà (in which the body of our Lord resembles that at the Pietà in St. Peter's), very much resemble Michelangelo in style, the Christ with the emblems of the Passion on the left-hand pulpit, and the bas-reliefs of the Annunciation, the Adoration, and a St. Matthew, are purer and more individual. The ceiling of the cupola, which is adorned with reliefs and ornaments in stucco, has a God the Father in the centre, around which are represented the Creation of Adam and Eve, the Temptation, and the Expulsion in which the three figures are most violent in action. While employed upon these works, Montorsoli was brought frequently into contact with Prince Doria, who became much attached to him, and employed him to model a gigantic Jupiter in stucco for the Villa Doria, where it may still be seen.

Montorsoli goes to Rome.

In 1547, desirous of seeing Michelangelo, from whom he had now been long separated, Montorsoli left Genoa for Rome, whence he addressed a letter[1] to Duke Cosimo, expressive of his desire to come to Florence and finish the group of Hercules and Antæus. But hearing that Bandinelli, under pretence that the marble was spoilt, had obtained permission to destroy it, and feeling that he could not support 'his presumption, arrogance, and insolence,' he with great reluctance relinquished his wish.

He goes to Sicily, A.D. 1547.

Just at this time, there arrived at Rome certain persons, charged to find a sculptor who would come to Messina and make a fountain for the Piazza, and as Montelupo, to whom they first offered the commission, was ill, they gave it to Montorsoli, who with the aid of many workmen, soon completed the numerous bas-reliefs, masks, marine monsters, and other ornaments which make it one of the most elaborate works of the kind in Italy. Having gained great favour he was detained

[1] Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. ii. p. 365.

at Messina to terminate the façade of the Duomo (an edifice in the old Sicilian Gothic style); to design the statues of SS. Peter and Paul for one of its chapels; to sculpture a Madonna for the Cicala monument; a bas-relief for the Bari Chapel in S. Domenico; and a St. Catherine for a church at Taormina. His many friends were anxious to induce him to take up his residence at Messina, and the Grand Master of Rhodes frequently endeavoured to persuade him to become a knight of his order; but as in 1557 Pope Paul IV. had ordered all unfrocked friars to return to their duty under grave penalties, Montorsoli refused both offers, and returned to Naples, whence, having made arrangements for the disposal of his property, he went to Rome to resume the cowl, and then, to the great joy of his brother Servites, once more settled himself at Florence in the convent to which he belonged.

Returns to Florence.

But he was not long left to enjoy this state of repose, if indeed repose could be grateful to a man of such a restless temperament, as he was summoned to Bologna to adorn the high altar of the church of the Servites, for which he sculptured a Moses, which is but a weak imitation of Michelangelo; a very inferior statue of Adam; and three statues in niches, of Christ, the Madonna, and St. John, which with the Church Fathers in relief (see Tail-piece), and the angels supporting a bas-relief of the Crucifixion, about the same altar, rank among his best efforts.

Works at Bologna.

His enemies Ricci and Bandinelli being dead, he now yielded to the urgent entreaties of his friend Maestro Zaccharia (Prior of the Annunziata) to return to Florence, and re-entered the service of Duke Cosimo, with the stipulation that his chisel should be employed only upon sacred subjects. The remainder of his days were spent in adorning the Painters' Chapel at the Annunziata with very Michelangelesque figures in stucco, of prophets and biblical personages, and in reorganising the Company of the Arts of Design, which had fallen into a languishing state. He also obtained a license from the Duke to construct a place of

sepulture for artists under this chapel at his own expense, over which a solemn mass for the dead was to be celebrated annually on the festival day of the Holy Trinity; its inauguration took place in the presence of forty-eight artists, who attended mass in the chapel, and afterwards listened to an address in praise of Montorsoli's liberality. When this was ended, the bones of Pontormo the painter, which had been disentombed, were deposited in the new tomb. Its second inmate was Montorsoli's scholar Martino, who had assisted him at Messina, and the third Montorsoli himself, over whom 'the renowned and learned Maestro Michelangelo' pronounced a very fine funeral oration. Dies at Florence, A.D. 1563.

CHRONOLOGY.

RAFFAELLO SINIBALDI DA MONTELUPO—	A.D.
Born	1503
Is apprenticed to the goldsmith Michelangelo di Viviano da Gaiuole. Studies sculpture under his father Bartolomeo.	
Goes to Carrara, and is employed in a Spanish workshop	1519
Goes to Lucca, to finish a monument to Bishop de' Gigli, begun by his father in the church of St. Michael	1522
Goes to Rome, and becomes the pupil of Lorenzetto, for whom he works upon the Madonna del Sasso at the Pantheon, and the statue of Elias at S. M. del Popolo, about	1523
Is seized with the plague	1525–1526
Commences a statue of Hercules	1526
Serves as bombardier in the Castle of St. Angelo	1527
Goes to Loreto to work with other sculptors upon the bas-reliefs of the Santa Casa	1527
Sculptures the S. Damiano in the Cappella dei Depositi at Florence, after Michelangelo's design	1531
At Rome, models fourteen statues in stucco, to adorn the Ponte S. Angelo, on occasion of the entry of the emperor Charles V.	1536
At Florence for a similar occasion, models colossal statues of the Rhine and the Danube, April 29	1536
At Rome. Finishes Michelangelo's statues of Leah and Rachel, and sculptures a Prophet and a Sibyl for the tomb of Julius II. at S. Pietro in Vincoli; is appointed architect of the	

castle of S. Angelo. Sculptures a marble angel for its summit; sculptures the monumental effigy of Leo X. at S. Maria sopra Minerva; makes a monument to Messer Balthasar Turini, for the Duomo at Pescia; is appointed architect and inspector-general of the Duomo at Orvieto. Designs ornaments in, and sculptures a bas-relief for the chapel of the Magi . . . . . 1542–1543 A.D.

Dies and is buried at Orvieto 1569–1570

LORENZO DEL CAMPANAIO, called LORENZETTO—

Born 1490

Works upon the monument of Cardinal Forteguerra, in the Duomo at Pistoja.

Sculptures the statue of Jonah for the Chigi Chapel in S. M. del Popolo at Rome, after Raphael's design, and under his direction, before 1520

Sculptures the statue of Elias for ditto; sculptures the Madonna del Sasso for the Pantheon 1523

Dies 1541

SIMON CIOLI DA SETTIGNANO, called IL MOSCHA—

Born 1496

Pupil of Bartolomeo da Montelupo; sculptures the ornaments of the Cappella Cesia in S. Maria della Pace at Rome; and those of the Cappella dei Magi in the Duomo at Orvieto; sculptures a bas-relief, Adoration of the Magi, in the same chapel, at Orvieto.

Dies 1554

FRANCESCO CIOLI DI SIMONE, called IL MOSCHINO—

Sculptures three angels; a God the Father, with Angels; a Visitation, and a St. Sebastian; for the Cappella dei Magi in the Duomo at Orvieto 1560–1571

FRA GIOVAN' ANGELO MONTORSOLI—

Born 1500

Studies under Andrea Ferrucci at Fiesole; goes to Rome, and works at St. Peter's; thence to Perugia, and Volterra, where he assists in making the tomb of Raffaello Maffei, after 1522

Works under Michelangelo at San Lorenzo, before . . 1527

Enters the convent of the Servites at Florence; makes wax statues of Leo X. and Clement VII.; goes to Rome, and restores antique statues for Pope Clement, and sculptures his bust 1530

	A.D
Aids Michelangelo at Florence in finishing the statues of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, and sculptures the statue of S. Cosimo	1531–1534
Goes to France	1534
Makes allegorical figures to adorn the Ponte Sta. Trinità, Florence; sculptures statues of Moses and St. Paul, for the Painters' Chapel, in the Annunziata at Florence .	1536
At Naples, completing the tomb of Jacopo Sannazzaro in S. M. del Parto	1537
Goes to Genoa; makes various reliefs in marble and stucco for the church of S. Matteo; a statue of Prince Doria, and a colossal Jupiter in stucco, for his villa, circa . .	1539
Goes to Messina; makes a fountain for the Piazza; finishes the façade of the Duomo, and statues of SS. Peter and Paul, for one of its chapels, and various minor works . .	1547
Goes to Bologna, and sculptures statues of Moses and Adam; statuettes of Christ, the Virgin and St. John, and bas-reliefs of the Church Fathers and Angels, after . .	1557
Returns to Florence; models Prophets in stucco for the Painters' Chapel at the Annunziata, about	1560
Dies and is buried in the same chapel	1563

FATHERS OF THE CHURCH. (By Montorsoli.)

BOOK VI.

TUSCAN SCULPTORS UNDER COSIMO I°.

Hic patriæ perit omne decus.—LUCAN, *Civilis Belli* lib. vii.

CHAPTER III.

BENVENUTO CELLINI.

Oggi l' Etruria il suo gran Cosmo adori;
Che delle antiche tenebre fa giorno,
E insin' nel ciel sen fa lieti rumori.

CELLINI, *Sonnetto L.*

THE sculptors who flourished at Florence during the reigns of Duke Cosimo I. and his son the Grand Duke Francesco, were Cellini, Bandinelli, Tribolo, Ammanati, and Gian Bologna; all men greatly inferior to those who raised their art so high under the great Cosimo and Lorenzo the Magnificent. Cosimo I., emulous of the glory of his ancestors, sought to make himself the centre, round which all who were distinguished in art or literature should revolve; it is therefore important for us to know him, before we study them. His claims on their favour as the son of Giovanni delle Bande Nere, coupled with his personal qualities, induced the Florentines to proclaim him their Duke at the age of eighteen, although Cardinal Cibo, and Vitelli captain of the guards, had endeavoured to secure the succession to Giulio, the natural son of Alessandro de' Medici, upon the death of his father by the hand of his cousin Lorenzino.

Florentine sculptors under Duke Cosimo I.

Cosimo proclaimed Duke.

Jan. 9, 1537.

Rendered cautious by past experience, the senate obliged him to accept a council, whose opinion he was bound to consult, and limited his revenue to what they considered adequate for his

state. 'When I heard this,' says Cellini, 'I laughed at those who told me of it, and said: These men of Florence have set a young man on a splendid horse; they have given him spurs, and put the bridle in his hand, and turned him into a beautiful field full of fruits and flowers and many delights, with strict orders not to pass certain bounds; now, tell me, when he takes a fancy to ride over them, who can restrain him? Who shall give laws to him who can make them?'[1] The event proved the truth of this prophecy, for the young Duke gradually made himself absolute master of Tuscany.

At the time of his accession to power, foreign wars and internal discords had combined to load Florence with debt. The wars between Charles V. and Francis I.; the invasion of Italy by the Spanish and German troops; the expulsion of the Medici, and
A.D. 1530. their restoration after the city had been besieged by the Imperial and Papal forces; and the infamous tyranny of Alessandro de' Medici, had reduced her to such a state of penury, that when required to pay 40,000 ducats, as the price of the evacuation of her territories by the troops of Charles V., she had been obliged to beg permission of the Pope to melt down the silver vessels belonging to the churches, in order to raise this sum.[2]

Cosimo's measures for the restoration of prosperity in Tuscany.

Cosimo addressed himself with energy and ability to the task of raising his country from her degraded state. He caused accurate estimates to be made of property throughout Tuscany, and laid justly proportioned taxes upon the people; he granted privileges to returning exiles, and encouraged emigration into the country; and by the revival of agricultural pursuits especially ameliorated the condition of Pisa, which since its obstinate resistance to the republic of Florence in the beginning of the century had become nearly depopulated, while the adjoining country had fallen into a pestilential state of decay.

With an inherited love of mercantile pursuits, he renewed com-

[1] *Vita di Cellini*, p. 193.

[2] Galluzzi, *Storia Toscana*, vol. i. ch. ix. p. 190.

mercial relations, and carried on an extensive commerce, with England, Spain, Antwerp, and Augsburg. He also took great interest in mining operations, which became profitable sources of revenue; and so great was his love of alchemy, that he erected a foundry in his own palace, where he spent much time and money in a vain search for the philosopher's stone.

His encouragement of art.

Amid all these various occupations, he did not forget that encouragement of art which was obligatory upon a Medicean prince, though he showed that he was no real connoisseur, by preferring Bandinelli and Ammanati to Cellini and Gian Bologna, and by allowing his ignorant majordomo, Francesco Ricci, to dispense court patronage so completely, that without first gaining his favour, it was impossible for any artist to obtain employment; he also had so little confidence in his own judgment, that after giving Cellini an order for his Perseus, he listened to the insinuations of Bandinelli against him, and tried to discourage him by neglect and doubt. He showed this again when he broke his word to Tribolo, to whom he had promised the commission for the fountain in the Piazza della Signoria, giving it first to Bandinelli, and then after his death to Ammanati, although Cellini and Gian Bologna had each produced designs of superior merit. Nor does the admiration which he expressed for Michelangelo, when urging him to return to Florence, prove his discrimination, as that great man's position was so firmly established, that he only honoured himself by honouring him.

His encouragement of literature.

Equally desirous of distinguishing himself as a patron of literature, Cosimo founded the Florentine Academy, whose office it was to maintain the Italian language in that state of purity to which it had been brought by the great poets, and to translate the Greek and Latin classics. At the same time he favoured such eminent literary men as Adriani, Carnesecchi, Ammirato, Domenichi, Giambullari, Segni, Paolo Giovio, and the historian Benedetto Varchi, whom he recalled from exile, received with kindness, pensioned, and often invited to Pisa to read aloud to him his

'Storia Fiorentina,' to which he listened with the utmost attention, now and then interrupting him by exclaiming 'Miracoli, Varchi! miracoli!'

He restored and reopened the University of Pisa, and invited distinguished men from all parts of Europe to fill its professorships; and placed in the Laurentian Library at Florence, for public use, the precious MSS. collected by Cosmo 'Pater Patriæ,' and Lorenzo de' Medici, which, since Savonarola had saved them from dispersion, had been taken to Rome by Pope Leo X., and brought back by Clement VII.[1]

Being fond of numismatics, the Duke spared no pains to recover the medals and coins which had once formed part of the Medici collection, and to add to them whatever could be bought by his agents in Italy and in foreign countries. This is shown by his
A.D. 1546. orders to one of his correspondents at Constantinople. 'Endeavour to obtain as many antique medals of gold, silver, or metal, as you can, whether Roman, Greek, or Egyptian, and send them all here to us, using every possible diligence in the search, as well as in that for Greek manuscripts and books.'[2]

Character of Cosimo I.

With admirable qualities which fitted him to build up a half-ruined kingdom, in which commerce, arts, and letters had become well-nigh extinct, Cosimo had faults of character which gave colour to the accusations of his enemies, who charged him with the blackest crimes. Known to be a skilful toxicologist, they accused him of poisoning his daughter Donna Maria, and Don Giulio, who had been his competitor for the ducal throne. The worst of all their accusations was that which weighed upon him after the death of his two sons, the Cardinal Giovanni, and Don Garcia, who having gone with him to hunt in the

[1] The Laurentian Library, begun for Clement VII. by Michelangelo, was not finished till 1571. Cosimo I. at various times added to the treasures collected within its walls, by many valuable MSS.; among which was the celebrated Virgil purchased in 1858 from Cardinal Innocenzo de' Monti.

[2] Galluzzi, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 198.

Maremma at the most pestilential season of the year, fell victims to the fever of the country; the popular voice, since echoed in the pages of many a tragedy and novel, said that Don Garcia had murdered his brother at the chase, and that when he confessed his crime at Pisa, Cosimo, transported with anger, slew him before his mother's face. Autumn of 1562.

We believe the Duke to have been innocent of these deeds; but there seems little doubt that he compassed the death of the Florentine Brutus, Lorenzino de' Medici, by the hands of two assassins, whom he despatched to Venice; and that he killed his attendant, Sforza Almeni, with his own hand, because he had revealed to his son Francesco the particulars of his intrigue with Eleonora da Toledo. A.D. 1548.

Guided by the counsels of Don Pedro di Toledo, and the bloodthirsty Duke of Alva, Cosimo enacted laws which outrage humanity, such as the 'Legge Polverina,'[1] by which the children of rebels were condemned to infamy, poverty, and perpetual exile; and the law by which a homicide could obtain pardon after he had slain a rebel or a bandit. He also organised a system of 'espionage,' by establishing one or two spies in each of the fifty divisions of Florence, who were paid in proportion to the importance of the information which they furnished to the tribunal appointed to take cognisance of state offences.

By far the most gifted among the sculptors who lived at Florence during the reign of this prince, was Benvenuto Cellini, at whose name our minds are filled with visions of jewelled cups, whose intrinsic value is as nothing in comparison with that of their workmanship; of salt-cellars fit only for royal tables; of cope buttons and helmets of ideal beauty; in short, of everything that is most excellent in goldsmith work. Benvenuto Cellini. B. 1500. D. 1571.

It is important to bear in mind that the word goldsmith in its mediæval acceptation did not mean simply a worker in gold, but The goldsmith's art.

[1] So called from its author, Jacopo Polverini di Prato. To his credit be it spoken, Cosimo did not always enforce this law.

one who fashioned all metals, whether precious or of baser quality, bestowing upon all a like amount of conscientious labour without reference to their intrinsic value, upon the principle that the work ennobled the material, and not the material the work. His art, which when looked at from its true point of view is an epitome of all the arts of design, demanded a thorough knowledge of each, for in fashioning altars, reliquaries, and caskets, the goldsmith used architecture; in chiselling their ornaments, sculpture; and in colouring their enamels, painting. Thus having exercised each art in miniature, he was fitted to pursue any one of them with great chance of success, if, as constantly happened, he did so after leaving the workshop. Brunelleschi, Luca della Robbia, Ghiberti, Verocchio, Pollajuolo, and many others, whose lives have been passed in review in these pages, were educated as goldsmiths, and owed much of their accuracy of hand and wonderful delicacy of execution to their early training.[1]

[1] 'Transport yourself,' says an eloquent writer, 'to the epoch when Christian art could realise its plans with some fulness; and see how, in its speciality, the great cathedrals, the work of the architect and that of the goldsmith was combined to ennoble men's minds, by awakening in them the sentiment of infinity through the aspect of the beautiful. Note that there are two infinitudes in nature, if one may so speak, as below the great infinitude is to be found the infinitude in miniature; and these two extremes should be reflected more than anywhere else in the art whose object it is to awaken in man the remembrance of God. For if, after having fathomed the abysses of the firmament with his glance, and vainly sought to find the last of the stars strewn there, he looks down upon the blade of grass, science helps him to discover those new worlds whose final bounds are equally inaccessible to his senses. This is what in sublime emulation, Art, bold copyist of the Creator, knew how to imitate in the religious edifices of the middle ages. Penetrated with the sentiment of Divine immensity at the aspect of a cathedral, when you approached the holy of holies did not a new world in some sort open before you? Above your head were suspended the broad crowns of light; near by, the great candelabrum spread out its branches; over the altar rose the ciborium, where the dove hovered; the cross crowned the dome; rich veils separated the columns; a tablet of gold lustrous with precious stones formed the front of the altar; and the reliquaries of the saints shone out in a circle from the depth of the sanctuary. Now what was an antique reliquary but one cathedral enclosed within another? the equivalent in the world of miniature infinitudes to that which the earth has of

During the middle ages the goldsmith found constant employment in the cities, and at the courts of the petty princes of Italy, for all classes had need of him, and claimed his aid in the adornment of their churches and houses, as well as of their persons. For the first, his hand was busied upon altars, reliquaries, and sacred vessels; for the second, upon table utensils and caskets; and for the third, upon the tiara for the Pope, the diadem for the emperor, the collar for the prince, and the cap-medal for the noble, the gentleman, the captain, and the magistrate. Lastly, for the women he made jewels, rings, bracelets, girdles, and clasps; and for the men weapons, whose beauty has given them a new value in our eyes, and caused them to be placed among the treasures of our cabinets and museums, with the peaceable object of giving pleasure to all who look upon them.

Its variableness of style.

As no other art is so much the slave of fashion as that of the goldsmith, its style followed the changes which took place in Italian taste, being in turn Byzantine, Gothic, and finally Renaissance. When this classic revival took place under the great Cosmo de' Medici, the goldsmiths, like other artists, gave themselves up entirely to the spirit of the antique, and either counterfeited the models set before them with rare intelligence and consummate skill, or when not aiming at positive imitation, used old forms as vehicles for new ideas. This was not the case, however, with their successors, who being without individuality, degenerated into mere copyists. They had the delicacy of execution and the technical skill, but were wanting in that depth of thought and appropriateness of expression, and that simplicity of feeling, which characterised the earlier Florentine school. Revived paganism had expelled that Christian element,

most perfect in the world of great infinitudes? Therefore, as the more you contemplate the work of the architect, the more beauties you discover in it, so the more closely you study the work of the goldsmith, the more you will perceive new riches of beauty.'—Le P. A. Martin, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, t. i. p. 10; Texier, pp. 18 *et seq.*

the earnest expression of which rendered the works of men like Perugino and Angelico so precious, and a striving after the grandiose, induced by study of Michelangelo, had been substituted for it with fatal effect by many artists of the sixteenth century.

The genuine works of Benvenuto Cellini are so few in number, that our knowledge of them in most cases is obtained from the account which he gives of them in his amusing and characteristic Autobiography, which has perhaps contributed even more than his art to make his name famous. In this work the author relates all the crimes and follies of which he has been guilty. Nor does he do this with any shame or penitence, but, on the contrary, with an evident pride which astonishes the reader; for whether he plays the assassin or the debauchee, outwits an honest man or revenges himself upon a weak one, he appears equally elated, and speaks of the deed as if sure that the world would bestow a like approbation upon it.

It is, indeed, utterly unjust to judge the man of one century by the standard of another, but we have a right to judge him by that of his own, and low as was that of morality in Cellini's day and unbridled as were the passions of many men in his time, it is certain that his extravagances and mad freaks amazed his contemporaries almost as much as they do us. That such was the case, we have his own testimony, and find proof where he did not see it, in the many disappointments and trials which justly came upon him, and which he looked upon as unmerited.

Fabled origin of Cellini's family.

Cellini opens the history of his life by relating a wonderful story concerning the origin of his family, which though well suited to the hero he considered himself to be, is utterly improbable, and evidently based on no other foundation than his fancy. 'Julius Cæsar,' he says, 'had a chief and valorous captain, named Fiorino da Cellino, from a castle situated four miles from Monte Fiascone. This Fiorino having pitched his camp below Fiesole, where Florence now stands, in order to be near the river Arno, for the convenience of the army, the soldiers and other persons when

they had occasion to visit him, said to each other, "Let us go to Fiorenza," which name they gave to the place where they were encamped, partly from their captain's name of Fiorino, and partly from the abundance of flowers which grew there; wherefore Cæsar, thinking it a beautiful name, and considering flowers to be of good augury, and also wishing to honour his captain, whom he had raised from a humble station, and to whom he was greatly attached, gave it to the city which he founded upon that spot.'[1]

Between this remote period and that of Cellini's birth, many distinguished men of his name, he tells us, were to be found at Ravenna, at Pisa, and in other cities, all soldiers, and all valorous, which may account for his own love of the sword and dagger; while his grandfather Andrea, who was an architect, and his father Giovanni, who understood architecture, engineering, working in ivory, and making musical instruments, may have given him his talent for art. When he was born, his father (then well advanced in years), overcome with joy, named him Benvenuto, i.e. welcome, and being excessively fond of music, determined to educate him as a musician. A.D. 1500.

Nature had however implanted in the boy a dislike to music, and so strong a determination to become a goldsmith, that his father was obliged to allow him to enter the workshop of Michelangelo di Viviano;[2] but unable to relinquish his heart's desire, soon took him home, and forced him to study the flute and cornet until he was fifteen, when Benvenuto, in spite of his father's opposition, apprenticed himself to Antonio di Sandro a goldsmith of repute, in whose workshop he had only been a few months, when he became implicated in a quarrel of so serious a nature, that to avoid imprisonment he was obliged to fly the city, and sought employment at Siena and Bologna. As soon as he was able to return with safety, he resumed his studies; but not

Cellini studies the goldsmith's art.

[1] *Vita di Cellini*, p. 3.

[2] Father of Baccio Bandinelli, the same goldsmith with whom Montelupo studied.

long after, being angry because his best clothes had been given to his brother Cecchino, he walked straight out of the nearest gate, and went to Pisa, where he lived for a year in the employment of a goldsmith named Ulivieri, spending his leisure hours in studying the marbles of Campo Santo.

A.D. 1518. After his return to Florence he met the sculptor Torrigiano, who tried to persuade him to go with him to England to assist in making the monument of King Henry VII.; but Cellini, though anxious to escape from his father's persecutions about music, refused his offers, as we have already said, and soon after started on foot for Rome, with a young wood-carver named Tasso, who falling lame, they purchased a horse at Siena, and with light pockets and gay hearts, 'sempre cantando e ridendo,' pursued their way, until they reached the gates of the Eternal City.

The three periods of Cellini's life. Cellini's life may henceforth be divided into three periods:—the first, of twenty-two years, principally spent at Rome in the service of Pope Clement VII.; the second, of five years, passed at Paris in that of Francis I., and the third, of twenty-seven years, during which he worked at Florence for Cosimo de' Medici.

Cellini at Rome. Soon after his arrival at Rome he made a salt-cellar enriched with many beautiful little masks, which he sold so well that he was able to send a considerable sum to his father, and yet retain enough for his own support while he devoted himself to the study of antiquities.

At the end of two years he went home, but to escape punishment for some fresh offence he was again obliged to fly, and in

A.D. 1523. the disguise of a monk returned to Rome, after the election of

His works there. Clement VII. The richly adorned candelabra which he now made for the Bishop of Salamanca, and the exquisite setting of the diamonds of Madonna Porzia, wife of Gismondo Chigi, brought him great fame, and he had constant employment from the Pope, the cardinals and the Roman nobles. He also made many gold medals for Roman gentlemen, who wore them in their caps according to the fashion of the time, one of which is mentioned,

as surpassing in beauty a competition medal by the famous Caradosso of Milan, whose superiority Benvenuto acknowledged with a modesty which shows, that with all his inordinate self-conceit he could give its due to real merit, though in the works of others. To this praise we may add that which he deserves for his frankness in never hesitating to condemn what he knew to be bad in art.

> Vivo vorrei Benvenuto Cellini,
> Che senza alcun ritegno o barbazzale,
> Delle cose malfatte dicea male.[1]

Cope button made for Pope Clement.

His most important work at this period was a cope button of gold for the Pope, which he thus describes:—'It was about the size of the palm of a hand, and contained in its centre a magnificent diamond of a reddish hue, limpid and brilliant as a star, and so charming to the sight, that other pure and colourless diamonds lost their beauty when placed near it.'[2]

Many eminent artists had been requested by the Pope to make designs for the setting of this precious jewel, all of whom placed it in the breast of a figure of God the Father; but Cellini had the happy idea of using it as a throne, upon which the little image sat, raising its hand to bless, while many angels fluttered in the folds of its flying drapery and about the other jewels which surrounded the great diamond. Pope Clement selected this design as soon as it was brought to him; gave the fortunate competitor five hundred gold scudi, encouraged him by the most flattering compliments, and sent for him every three days to know what progress he was making in the work. Many persons shook their heads, hinting at the great difficulties of his task, but Cellini though he says he called to mind the warnings of Phœbus to Phæton, nevertheless persevered, and achieved a splendid success.[3]

[1] Anton Francesco Grazzini, novelist and poet.

[2] Pope Julius II. had paid 36,000 ducats for it.

[3] *Trattato dell' Orificeria*, p. 50.

Cellini during the siege of Rome, A.D. 1527.

We have already given an account of the terrible events which occurred at Rome in the summer of 1527, during which Cellini killed the Constable of Bourbon,[1] wounded the Prince of Orange, and by the judicious disposition of his artillery in the castle of St. Angelo did such service to the cause of the Church, that the Pope gave him his benediction, and pardoned him for all the 'homicides he had committed, or might commit, in the service of the Apostolic Church.' The Pope employed him to melt down the gold settings of his jewels, which Cellini tells us he did, without the slightest expression of regret at the destruction of such precious works of art. For this want of feeling we cannot forgive him, especially as we are sure that no words would have been sufficiently strong to express his indignation against the man who should, even in case of dire necessity, have laid impious hands upon his own works.

After the siege was over Cellini returned to Florence, where he was appointed captain of the Florentines by Orazio Baglioni; but his father, fearing that he would give up art and take up the profession of a soldier, persuaded him to go to Mantua, where he met his old friend Giulio Romano, then painting the Palazzo del Tè. During his short stay there, he made a reliquary for the Duke, and a seal for his brother the Cardinal Gonzaga; but having been seized with a fever, he was forced to go home, where he arrived when preparations were being made for the defence of the city against the threatened invasion of the joint Papal and Imperial forces. 'I too,' he says, 'was summoned to join the citizen volunteers, and made my preparations accordingly.'

As Cellini had been made captain two years before, and considered himself a great hero, it might have been expected that he would have eagerly embraced this opportunity to fight for his country; but unfortunately for his reputation, he preferred to accept an invitation from Pope Clement to return to his service, and having confided his property to the care of a friend

[1] This rests entirely on his own authority. *Vita*, p. 75.

(as his father was dead), he secretly left the city for Rome, whence he wrote, without any words of excuse or regret or appearance of shame, to say where he was.

Michelangelo and Cellini contrasted as patriots.

The conduct of Michelangelo, who was much more closely bound to the Medici than Cellini, stands out in bright contrast with that of this man, whose sword was often unsheathed in his private quarrels, but who shrunk from using it in a holy cause. So later, when both were asked to serve Alessandro de' Medici, the one by building a fortress, the other by making a die for the new Florentine money upon which the tyrant's face was to be engraved, Michelangelo refused, but Cellini accepted, and being at a loss what device to put upon the reverse of the coin, he applied through a correspondent to that 'mad melancholy philosopher,' Lorenzino de' Medici, who sent him word that it formed the subject of his thoughts by night and by day, and that he would soon give it to him; 'and he has kept his word,' said the exiled Soderini to Cellini, when he brought him the news, that Lorenzino had laid the tyrant low with his dagger.

Cellini's medals.

Cellini tells us that good judges preferred his medallion portraits of Duke Alessandro, and of Popes Clement VII. and Paul III., and of King Francis I., to the antique; which preference they certainly did not deserve, nor indeed can they be compared in style with those made in the preceding century by Pisanello, Sperandio, and Matteo di Pasta, or even with those of his contemporaries, Grechetto and Bernardi.

A.D. 1534. Assassination of Pompeo by Cellini.

Soon after the election of Paul III. Cellini, feeling himself insulted by the sneers of a fellow goldsmith, named Pompeo, with whom he had already had frequent quarrels, pursued him in the street, and killed him with his dagger. Perceiving his absence (for Cellini had thought it prudent to conceal himself), the Pope, who wished him to make a die for the Roman money,[1] asked the reason, and when told it, sent him a safe-conduct, and at the same

[1] Cellini's design consisted of a half figure of St. Paul, with the inscription 'Vas Electionis.'

time rebuked one of Pompeo's friends, who had ventured to remonstrate, in these words, 'Know that men of unrivalled talent like Benvenuto are not bound to obey the laws, especially when they have been so sorely provoked as he was.' It is unnecessary to comment upon an immunity thus given for crime, which could not but lead men of Cellini's stamp to look upon murder as a trifling matter.

Cellini goes to France, A.D. 1537.

Although the Pope had pardoned the criminal, he did not continue to regard him with favour, owing, as Cellini tells us, to the influence of his enemies; he therefore left Rome and went to France, travelling through Padua, where he made a medallion of Cardinal Bembo, and through Switzerland, where he incurred many dangers by land and water. Arrived at Paris, he entered the service of Francis I., in whose suite he travelled to Lyons, but having fallen ill he returned to Rome, where to his surprise he found himself accused of having secreted many of those papal jewels, the settings of which Pope Clement had employed him to melt down at the time of the siege. Although his guilt could

He is imprisoned at St. Angelo, A.D. 1538–1540.

not be proved, he was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo for nearly two years, with the exception of a short time which he passed in the house of Cardinal Cornaro, after he had broken his leg in an attempt to escape. On his recovery he was taken back to his cell, where he employed the few hours of daylight in writing sonnets, and reading his Bible; at one time he was brought to such a pitch of despair that he would have committed suicide, had he not felt himself checked by the interposition of an invisible hand. After this he became penitent, and falling into a state of religious exaltation, spent the time in singing psalms and religious compositions of his own, though as soon as his friend Cardinal Ippolito d' Este had obtained his

A.D. 1540.

liberation, on the plea that Francis I. needed his services, he returned to his former evil courses.[1]

On his way to France, he spent some time at Ferrara, where

[1] See Appendix, letter A.

Cardinal Ippolito employed him to make a richly chased silver basin, and a cup with figures in relief, which he afterwards sent by Cellini to King Francis, who declared that they surpassed the antique in beauty, and offered to take him into his service with a salary of three hundred gold scudi a year. Considering this pay far too small for an artist of his reputation, Cellini actually started on his way home, but being overtaken by the royal messengers was brought back, and as the king now offered him seven hundred gold scudi a year, presented him with five hundred, and ordered him to make seven silver statuettes of gods and goddesses, to adorn a set of candelabra for his table, he concluded to remain in Paris. These favours were crowned by the gift of the Hôtel de Petit Nesle,[1] with the title of seigneur, and by letters of naturalisation; but Cellini, though thus made lord 'de jure,' found it not a little difficult to become so 'de facto,' as the provost, Jean d'Estouteville, who resided there, refused to give up the château, and the workmen connected with a distillery, a printing establishment, and a saltpetre manufactory in it, were equally determined to remain.

Visits Ferrara and then returns to France.

Protected by an officer appointed for the purpose, Cellini expelled the provost by threats of personal violence; and then having armed his pupils and workmen, drove out the rebellious operatives, and destroyed their property. One of the sufferers complained to the king's mistress, Madame d'Étampes, who claimed justice at the hands of her royal lover, and not obtaining it, took a violent dislike to Cellini, which she showed on every possible occasion. A lawsuit instituted against the aggressor had no effect, for finding it was going against him, he waylaid the plaintiff and his advocate, and 'cut them up' with his dagger, without however, he tells us, endangering their lives, proving

Cellini violently possesses himself of the Château de Petit Nesle.

He takes the law into his own hands.

[1] Jean Conte de Nesle built his castle on the Seine in 1262. In 1416 'le grand et le petit Hôtel de Nesle' became royal property. The house occupied by Benvenuto on the site of the present Hôtel de la Monnaie was pulled down in 1662. *Beiträge von Reumont*, vol. iii. p. 342.

by this skilful use of his weapon, that his practice with it was equalled only by that which he had with his graver.

Cellini has great success at Paris.

Being now master of the premises, he established his workshop upon the field of battle,[1] and assisted by many able French, Italian, and German workmen, under the direction of his pupils Ascanio and Paolo Romano, who had accompanied him from Italy, made a number of works, whose vogue greatly wounded the pride of the Parisian Corporation of Goldsmiths, who were peculiarly sensitive to the extraordinary patronage given by their king to a foreigner, because their own material prosperity had been lately affected by a royal ordonnance, which they looked upon as unjust.[2]

French goldsmiths.

Judging by the contemptuous manner in which Cellini speaks of French sculptors and goldsmiths, we might be led to suppose that he found himself among an uncultivated people, who knew but little of these arts, but a glance at their history is sufficient to show that such was by no means the case, and that though Cellini certainly had great influence upon French art of the time, he was by no means the pioneer which he claimed to be.

St. Eloy. N. A.D. 588. M. A.D. 659.

Since the days of their patron, Saint Eloy,[3] the goldsmiths had formed a corporate body of importance in France, comprising three classes of artisans; viz. masters, companions, and apprentices. St. Eloy, who practised his art even after he became the minister of King Dagobert, made for his royal master two famous golden chairs encrusted with jewels, and 'a great number of golden vases enriched with precious stones.' He also founded a convent at Solignac, in which he instructed the monks to be goldsmiths; and encouraged the art in many French towns, such as Limoges, whose school was famed for its incrustations of enamel and the setting of coloured stones; Paris, noted for its gold and silver statues and hammered work; Metz, for its intaglios and skilful use of the graver; Arras and Lyons, for silk stuffs embroidered

A.D. 631.

[1] See Appendix, letter B.

[2] Jacob, *Histoire des Artes*, p. 294.

[3] Born 588, died 659. Jacob, *op. cit.* pp. 194 *et seq.* See Appendix to Chapter V. vol. i.

with gold threads. During the reign of Charlemagne, the art was carried to great perfection, especially in the fabrication of chalices, crosses, censers, &c. &c.; but after his death all branches of art gradually fell off both in France and in Italy, through dread of the universally expected judgment-day; though that of the goldsmith was less seriously affected than any other, for even the most miserly bestowed upon the Church the treasures so soon to become valueless, which were transformed, in his furnace, into altar ornaments and Church utensils.

The famous treatise of the monk Theophilus,[1] in which every branch of their art is discussed, and to which the 'Trattato d'Orificeria,' written by Cellini four hundred years later, added little, proves sufficiently how great was the knowledge possessed by the master goldsmiths of the eleventh century.[2]

Sugèr, Abbot of St. Denis, and minister of Louis VI., set the works of St. Eloy before his eyes as models, and greatly aided the progress of this art, of which he was extremely fond, and in which he was specially learned; while the quantity of precious objects brought from the East in the time of the Crusades acted upon it as a further stimulus. Its style also underwent a change, following the development of architecture, from the Romanesque to the Gothic, whose richness of ornamentation gave new scope for skill. Unfortunately the intrinsic value of the splendid works produced by the goldsmiths of the twelfth and succeeding centuries often doomed them to destruction, either by the hands of kings, whose treasuries had run dry, or by those of the people in periods of revolution. During each succeeding reign we find especial royal ordonnances touching the goldsmiths in different parts of France, several hundred of whom are recorded by name in the documents of the fourteenth century, and in that of Charles IV. (who has been styled the father of the goldsmiths), A.D. 1322–1328.

[1] Diversarum artium schedula.

[2] 'Le traité de Cellini présente une grande analogie, et quelquefois une conformité parfaite, avec celui de Théophile.'—*Dictionnaire d'Orfévrerie*, p. 1025.

those of Paris had a private chapel assigned to them, and in the royal, municipal, and ecclesiastical ceremonies were marshalled according to fixed rank and prerogative. The magnificent style of dress indulged in at that time gave great scope to the exercise of their skill, as the smallest ornaments were covered with little figures in relief, chiselled with the greatest care.

Nor was Cellini the first Italian who had brought the superior taste and skill of the Italian goldsmiths to bear upon those of
A.D. 1495. France, for King Charles VIII., on his return home from his expedition to Naples, brought in his train many excellent workmen, among whom were doubtless goldsmiths from Florence, Venice, and Milan; while the Cardinal d'Amboise, minister of Louis XII., not only brought from Genoa and Milan an immense number of precious objects, with which he filled the Château de Gaillon, but also induced many artists from those cities to settle in France, under whose influence, as well as under that of those subsequently called thither by Francis I. (among whom Cellini holds the first rank), the style changed from Gothic to Renaissance.

The French goldsmiths whom Cellini found at Paris especially excelled in works included under the head of 'grosseria,' that is in church and table ornaments, and statuettes in gold and silver, and were hardly to be surpassed in hammered metal-work. It was consequently in 'minuteria,' that is in personal ornaments connected with dress, such as medals for the bonnet, rings, &c. &c., that Cellini's influence was principally felt, and in the almost universal adoption of mythological, in preference to Christian subjects.[1] He introduced medallions worked throughout with the graver, and in no part cast or stamped, which were worn in the hats of men and the hair of women, especially during the reigns of Francis I. and Henry II.

[1] It is indeed very difficult to distinguish between Italian and French jewellery of the second half of the sixteenth century.—Abbé Texier, *op. cit.* p. 1026.

Upon French sculpture Cellini had far less influence, for the simple reason that he began to work as a sculptor after he came to France. That this art had been extensively practised in France by native artists since the Revival, is proved by the many names of French sculptors who enjoyed a high reputation, both at home and abroad,[1] during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; while during the latter part of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth, many sculptors of note flourished contemporaneously; such as Michel Colombe, sculptor of the noble tomb of Francis II. Duke of Brittany, still to be seen at Nantes; François Marchand, author of the sculptures at Chartres; and Jean Juste, of Tours, who by order of Francis I. sculptured the tomb of Louis XII. and his queen, Anne of Britanny. In 1530 Francis I. summoned Il Rosso, painter and architect, from Italy, and confided to him the direction of all his artistical enterprises; a year later the Duke of Mantua, at his request, sent Primaticcio the painter to France, who was followed by many young artists of talent, such as Paul Pontius Trebatti the sculptor, who with Cellini himself founded the so-called school of Fontainebleau.

French sculptors.

The manner of all these artists was imbued with that factitious grace which was at this time the bane of the Florentine school. Tempted by their facility to work without models, they became blind to the bad style of limbs unnaturally lengthened, and extremities disproportionately small, of forms both full and delicate, of outlines exaggeratedly rounded, and of joints so small as to be manifestly unable to bear the figures they were meant to sustain; and contented themselves with an elegance and false grace, which at first sight captivated even those who, like the monarch who protected and presided over this Franco-Italian school, should have more justly estimated them.

The school of Fontainebleau.

Francis I.[2] was a man of taste, and a real lover of art, whose

Francis I.

[1] Enderic David, *Tableau Historique de la Sculpture Française*, pp. 114, 153.

[2] 'Sans préméditation dans le mal, sans perfidie réfléchie comme chez sa mère,

natural disposition had been cultivated in Italy when Lionardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael were in their glory, and who had proved his appreciation of the really great Italian artists by inviting Lionardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto to France. Neither, unfortunately, had much influence upon the taste of the monarch or upon that of his people, as Lionardo was very old at the time of his arrival and died about two years after; while Andrea, who though a man of great genius, an admirable draughtsman, and an excellent colourist, was not without taint of mannerism, remained there but a short time. The taste of the king not having been sufficiently purified to resist the fashion of the day, formed itself definitively in the school of Rosso, Primaticcio and Cellini, whose works he considered perfect. For Cellini in particular he seems to have conceived an unbounded admiration, which induced him to overlook and excuse his violence of conduct, and to protect him against the enmity of Madame d'Étampes and the Count of St. Paul, who did not scruple to tell his Majesty, when he expressed fear of losing his protégé, that the surest way to keep him would be to hang him on a gibbet.

A.D. 1519.

His fondness for Cellini.

The only large work executed by Cellini in France, is the bronze Nymph, originally intended to be placed over the principal door of the Palace of Fontainebleau, as the personification of a spring of water called Belle Eau, which was discovered one day in the forest by the royal hounds. The Nymph, crowned with fruits, lies upon the waves with her right arm around the neck of a stag, whose antlered head fills the middle of the composition; her left arm rests upon an urn, from whose mouth flow abundant waters which are lapped up by deer, wild boars,

The Nymph of Fontainebleau, cast A.D. 1543.

il (François I) trompera, opprimera, et délaissera tout ce qu'il aura aimé, tout ce qui aura espéré en lui. L'art même qu'il affectionnera plus constamment qu'aucune autre chose, il le sentira par l'imagination seule, et non par l'âme; par la grâce voluptueuse, par la superficie, non par l'idéal et le divin. Il ne provoquera rien de vraiment grand en France.'—*Hist. de France,* par H. Martin, vol. vi. p. 436.

and dogs. Were the Nymph a silver statuette of small dimensions, her defects might pass unnoticed, but her gigantic size renders it impossible to overlook the utter want of expression in her face, the inordinate length of her limbs, and the want of ensemble in her ill-combined figure. Accustomed to work in the small, and occupied with trivial detail, Cellini appears to have been ill at ease in modelling this figure, which must rather be regarded as magnified goldsmith's work, than as sculpture.[1]

Silver statuette of Jupiter, A.D. 1544.

As soon as he had finished a silver statuette of Jupiter (one of the six ordered by the King), he took it to Fontainebleau, where Francis, influenced by Madame d'Étampes, ordered it to be placed in a gallery which contained those bronze copies from the antique which had been lately cast from the originals at Rome through the agency of Primaticcio. Even Cellini was alarmed when he saw his Jupiter surrounded by such formidable rivals, and grew more and more troubled when he found that his fair enemy was determined to keep the King away till after nightfall, when he would be unable to see it in a good light; but with his usual cleverness, he turned the threatened evil into an advantage, by inserting a taper into the thunder-bolt, which the statue held aloft in its right hand, whose flame threw so fine a light upon the figure, that the King on entering exclaimed, 'This is the most beautiful thing that man's eyes ever beheld; and I, who delight in and understand it, never could have imagined the hundredth part of its beauty.'

Golden salt-cellar, A.D. 1543.

Another work executed by Cellini for King Francis, was the golden salt-cellar, now preserved in the 'Cabinet d'Antiques' at Vienna. It consists of a male figure representing the Sea, with a trident in one hand, and a boat delicately chiselled in the

[1] After the death of Francis I. in 1547, the Nymph was sent by Henry II. to the Château of Diane de Poitiers, at Anèt; whence, after the Revolution, she was transported to the Renaissance Museum of the Louvre. Vide *Catalogue des Sculptures modernes*, p. 18.

other; and of a female figure representing the Earth, holding in one hand a horn of abundance, and in the other a little temple. The Sea is surrounded with a crowd of marine animals and fishes swimming in the waves, which are coloured by the application of enamel; and the Earth by the noblest animals, who walk amid rocks and upon ground, whose colour and texture is represented by enamel. Upon its ebony base are four figures in relief, which represent Aurora, Day, Twilight, and Night; and four others, of the Winds, worked and enamelled in parts, with all imaginable grace. This salt-cellar is a perfect example of what the most consummate knowledge of technical processes, enamelling, chiselling, &c. &c. could accomplish; but like all the works of Cellini, it is wanting in higher qualities, for though one of the most accomplished workmen that ever lived, he was not a great artist. Nor can we excuse the want of grandeur and nobility of form in his goldsmith's work, on the ground that these qualities are incompatible with small-sized figures, as the greatest ancient as well as modern artists have shown by their sketches and statuettes that this is not the case.

Want of deductive harmony in the works of Cellini.

In fact his statues and his ornaments want that deductive harmony, which renders Greek architecture and sculpture as thoroughly satisfactory to the mind, as it is beautiful to the eye. Take the Ludovisi Juno as an example; the key-note lies in those broad and placid eyes, whose character pervades the mouth, the nose, the chin, and the forehead, and influences the shape of the skull and even the arrangement of the hair; and doubtless the same intimate relation of parts was perceptible throughout the statue, connecting every bit of drapery and every limb with the head. When compared with the ornamental system of the Greek, or with that of the early Renaissance artists, whose most fanciful combinations were so logical, that they borrowed the aspect of truth, we find that Cellini's failed in a most essential attribute; not realising, because he did not feel as they did, 'qu'il faut que même ici le caprice ait sa raison

d'être.'[1] To be perfect even when most free, each part of a work of art should be the corollary and indispensable complement of the other, so that the whole may grow like a tree, the trunk from the root, the branches from the trunk, and the leaves from the branches.

Influenced by Madame d'Étampes, his Majesty refused to accept Cellini's model for a fountain at Fontainebleau, and accepted one by Primaticcio, which so angered the fiery Florentine, that he took the first opportunity of telling his rival he would kill him like a dog, if he ever heard of his saying anything more about the matter, in consequence of which the frightened Primaticcio soon after formally renounced his pretensions. That the King could permit such conduct is incomprehensible; only once did he administer a reproof to his favourite, which he made haste to soften as soon as the delinquent humbled himself, and proposed to return to Italy; but as the Cardinal of Ferrara soon after obtained permission for him to do so, we may infer that the King did at last grow tired of him. A.D. 1543.

On his arrival at Florence in the month of August, Cellini waited on Duke Cosimo at Poggio a Cajano, where the benign prince received him in the kindest way, and requested him to model a figure of Perseus, to be placed under one of the arches of the Loggia de' Lanzi. 'Hearing this, (he says) I was moved by an honourable ambition, and thought within myself, "My work will then stand between one by Michelangelo, and one by Donato, men who have surpassed the ancients; what more can I desire than to be admitted to such proximity?" Wherefore with great joy and zeal I commenced to make a little model of the Perseus,[2] and when I showed it to his Excellency, he said in wonder, "If you can make this work in the large as well as you have made

Cellini returns to Florence, A.D. 1545.

His favourable reception at court.

[1] Article on Benvenuto Cellini, by M. H. Delaborde, *Revue de deux Mondes*, p. 755. Dec. 1857.

[2] *Trattato d' Oreficeria*, p. 87. This model may be seen in the bronze room at the Uffizi.

it in the small, I am sure that it will be the finest statue in the Piazza," to which, moved partly by reason of what I had done, and partly by what I felt able to do, I replied, "Oh! most excellent prince, I promise you that the statue shall be three times better than the model," at which he shook his head, and I took my leave.'

The Perseus.

During the next four years, while occupied upon this figure, Cellini suffered infinite trouble and annoyance, owing to the enmity of Ricci, the Duke's maggiordomo, and of Baccio Bandinelli, who threw doubts upon his capacity. The Duke had given him a house for his atelier,[1] and fixed his salary at two hundred scudi a year; but this promising prospect soon clouded over, and Cellini meeting with coldness and silence at court, and the enmity of his brother artists abroad, and finding it impossible to get money enough to go on with his work, would have returned to France, had he not received an intimation that the settling of his accounts with the King, which were by no means as clear as they should have been, might seriously damage his reputation.

A.D. 1546.

His position eventually became so intolerable, that he ran away to Venice, where he spent a short time in the society of Titian, Sansavino, and Lorenzino de' Medici, who advised him not to go back to Florence; but, as he was determined to make the Perseus, he disregarded their advice. After his return, he first tried his skill in casting a bust of the Duke,[2] and then the body of Medusa, but could not immediately begin the statue of Perseus, as the Duke, influenced by Bandinelli, long refused to advance him the necessary funds. Having explained his grounds for hope of success, and taken many precautionary measures, especially necessary with this figure on account of the position

[1] In the Via del Rosajo.

[2] Formerly at Portoferraio in the island of Elba, now in the Uffizi. In 1547 Cellini restored the antique marble Ganymede, now in the Uffizi, for Duke Cosimo.

of the arms, which made it peculiarly difficult to cast the whole in one piece, he at last set about his difficult task, with the belief that should he succeed all his troubles would be at an end. A.D. 1548.

The terrible anxieties and dangers through which he passed, before his efforts were rewarded with complete success, are thus graphically described in the story of his life.

Casting of the Perseus.

We pass over the preliminary steps, and take up the narrative at the moment when the metal was disposed in the furnace, the wood prepared for lighting, the canals properly directed for conducting the molten liquid, and the workmen placed at their posts. 'I then,' he says, 'ordered them to set fire to the furnace, which, being extremely well built, and filled with pine sticks whose resinous quality makes them very combustible, burnt so vigorously, that I was obliged to run hither and thither, to my own insupportable fatigue. Add to this, that as the shop caught fire, and we were afraid that the roof would fall on us, so much wind and rain entered on the garden side, that it cooled the furnace. After fighting against these perverse accidents for several hours, with ever-increasing fatigue, I was seized with the most terrible attack of fever that can be imagined, wherefore I felt obliged to go to bed, before doing which I turned to my assistants, who were ten or more in number (counting the bronze casters, labourers, countrymen, and my own private workmen), and after recommending myself to them all, I said to Bernardino Mannellini di Mugello, who had been with me for several years, "Follow the plan which I have shown you, and be as quick as you can, for the metal will soon be ready; you cannot make a mistake, as these other men will prepare the canals, and with the iron implements you can open the orifices of the furnace, through which the metal will flow and fill the mould. I feel more ill than I ever felt in my life, and am certain that I cannot live many hours." After saying which I left them, and went to bed.'

For two hours poor Benvenuto lay tossing with fever, attended by a female servant, who tried to comfort him and give him hope,

while pity for his unfortunate state forced tears from her eyes which she vainly strove to conceal from him. 'While I lay in this unmeasured state of wretchedness,' he says, 'I saw a certain man whose body was as crooked as an S, enter my room, who said in a sad voice, such as those are wont to use who come to prepare the condemned for death, "O Benvenuto! your work is ruined past earthly remedy." When I heard the words of this wretch, I uttered a shriek which might have been heard in the fiery sphere, and rising from my bed, began to hurry on my clothes, giving kicks and blows to the servants and to my boy, and to all who came near me, exclaiming, "O traitors and invidious reptiles, this is a treason done to art, but I swear by God, that I will unveil your wickedness, and that before I die, I will leave such a mark of myself on the world, that more than one person will be astonished."'

Bearing down the timid opposition of the workmen, whom he found standing helplessly about the furnace, Cellini caused a quantity of young oak wood to be brought, and a block of tin, about sixty pounds in weight, to be cast into the furnace; thanks to which vigorous measures he soon had the satisfaction of seeing the metal, which had caked and cooled, again become fluid.

'Seeing that contrary to the opinion of all these ignorant people, I had resuscitated the dead, I again became vigorous, and forgot my fever and my fear of death. Suddenly, to our alarm, we heard a noise, and saw a flash of fire as if a thunderbolt had fallen in our midst, and as soon as the noise and glare had passed, and we began to see each other's faces again, we found that the top of the furnace had burst, and risen in such a way that the bronze poured out, wherefore I caused the mouths of my mould to be opened, and the two furnace plugs to be driven in; but seeing that the metal did not run as fast as it ought to, perhaps because the alloy had been destroyed by the terrible fire, I cast into the canals and the furnace all my tin dishes and plates, to the number of about two hundred; until everyone seeing that the

PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA.

bronze was liquid, and the mould in process of being filled, assisted and obeyed me with zeal, while I, now here, now there, ordered, helped, and said, "Assist me, O God, who by Thy great power didst raise the dead before gloriously ascending to heaven;" and then, seeing that my mould was filled, fell on my knees and thanked God with all my heart, after which I ate a hearty meal with my assistants, and it being then two hours before dawn, went to bed with a light heart, and slept as sweetly as if I had never been ill in my life.

'Feci Perseo, O Dio, come ogn' uom vede,
E piacque a chi io lo feci e a tutto il mondo.'[1]

Yes, Cellini was right; his Perseus pleased all the world, excepting Bandinelli and his friends.

When it was uncovered in the Piazza, expressions of admiration were heard on all sides; from the Duke, who, half hidden in the embrasure of a window of the Palazzo Vecchio, looked down upon the scene, to the lowest of his subjects, who thronged below; and Cellini as he walked among them was flattered by being pointed out, as the great artist who had made this wonderful statue. April, 1554.

And in truth there is much to admire in the Perseus (see Tail-piece) as he stands with a drawn sword in his right hand, looking down upon the lifeless body of Medusa, whose gory head he holds aloft in his left; in the marble pedestal, richly adorned with skulls, goats' heads, festoons, terminal figures, and niches containing bronze statuettes of Jupiter, Mercury, Minerva and Danae; and above all, in the bronze bas-relief of Perseus descending to liberate Andromeda, which is set into the parapet below. (See Plate V.)

But on the other hand, though the winged helmet, the face, the fore arm, and the outstretched hand of this statue are admirable, the head is too large for the body; the torso, which is full of unmeaning detail, is too long for the legs, and the parts are ill put together. Then the highly ornate pedestal is too narrow for

[1] Sonnet 96, by Cellini; *Trattato*, p. 395.

its height; and the bas-relief, though one of Cellini's best works, is vicious in style. Its central portion is occupied by the graceful figure of Andromeda, whose long tresses stream in the wind, as shielding her eyes with her hand, she looks upward for her deliverer, who is coming down from the clouds to attack the monster, who with open jaws, bat-like wings, claws of iron strength and scaly body, stands ready to receive him. Upon the shore are Andromeda's mother Cassiopea, and her father Cepheus, who has a stern sad face; while between them her disappointed lover Phineas, whose head reminds us of an antique Gem, rises from the earth like an avenging spirit, followed by a troop of warriors on foot and on horseback, the last of whom gallop furiously through the clouds.

As might have been expected in the work of a man who had spent more than forty years upon 'minuteria,' general effect is here lost in elaboration of detail which, though beautiful in itself, is not kept sufficiently subordinate.

To Cellini it seemed that the Perseus never had been and never would be surpassed, and so much did he presume upon his success that he estimated its value at 10,000 gold scudi;[1] and when the Duke grew angry, and said that he could build churches and palaces for such a sum, he answered, 'Your Excellency can find any number of men to serve you as architects, but not one capable of making such a statue; no, not even my master Michelangelo now that he is old, although he might perhaps have done so in his youth, if he had taken as much pains as I have.'

The Duke was now desirous of employing Cellini upon the marble balustrade around the choir in the Duomo, but as Bandinelli, whom he hated, was already working upon it, Cellini

[1] Girolamo degli Albizzi, who was appointed arbiter in the matter of price, valued it at 3,550 golden scudi, to which the Duke agreed, and Cellini was forced to submit. *Vita di Cellini*, p. 463. Gualandi says he originally asked 7,000 and received 3,000; *op. cit.* Series IV. p. 99. Cellini himself says 3,000—*vide Doc.* 57, p. 459, Appendix to his life, ed. le Monnier.

refused, and offered, with even more than his usual self-conceit, to make two bronze gates for the great doorway, stipulating that he should not be paid for them unless they surpassed those of the Baptistry by Ghiberti. Happily for him the Duke declined his offer, and gave him a commission for two pulpits, which he never executed, although he made several designs for them.

After casting the Perseus, he obtained permission to go to Rome, and during his stay there resided in the Altoviti Palace near the Ponte St. Angelo, where the curious may still see the bronze bust which he made of his host Bindo Altoviti, whose features are so well known to us through his portraits by Raphael,[1] with whom, as with all the most eminent artists of his day, he lived on the most friendly terms. Michelangelo was so much pleased with this bust, that he thus wrote to Cellini: 'My Benvenuto, I have long known you as the best goldsmith in the world, and I now know you as an equally good sculptor, through the bust of Messer Bindo Altoviti, which he showed me as your handiwork, although, as he said, it stood in such a bad light that half its beauties were lost.'[2]

Bust of Bindo Altoviti, A.D. 1552.

Cellini was anxious to remain at Rome, and unsuccessfully endeavoured, through Serristori the Florentine ambassador, to have an interview with Pope Julius III., but as he quarrelled with Altoviti about the payment of his annuity, he soon returned to Florence, and resumed his labours for the Duke.

In one of his numberless memorials[3] addressed to the sopra-syndics about the settlement of his accounts, Benvenuto enumerates the works which he has executed for the Duke, and

[1] In the Pinacothek at Munich.

[2] *Vita*, p. 434. After the beginning of the war waged by Cosimo I. against Siena, Altoviti lived as an exile at Rome, where he hospitably entertained his countrymen, although his means were small, as Cosimo had confiscated the greater part of his property. When Siena was besieged, Altoviti took the field against Cosimo with a troop of 3,000 soldiers, raised at his own expense; but after the battle of Marciano (Aug. 2, 1555), he lost all hope and returned to Rome, where he died Jan. 22, 1556. *Beiträge von Reumont*, vol. iii. p. 375.

[3] *Doc.* 57, p. 549. Appendix to *Vita di Cellini.*

Marble crucifix.

mentions the prices he has received for them. Among these was a crucifix, considered by its maker to be the finest in the world, with the life-size figure of our Lord, in white marble, set upon a cross of black marble. He originally intended it to be placed over his own grave, but offered it to the Duchess Eleanora, hoping to tempt her to use her influence in having him

A.D. 1559. appointed to make the fountain for the Piazza della Signoria.

A.D. 1563. The Duke afterwards purchased this Crucifix, and his son, the

A.D. 1576. Grand Duke Francesco, sent it to Philip II., King of Spain, who placed it in the Escurial, where it still remains.[1] Another of his works, purchased by Cosimo, was a gold chalice, adorned with figures of the three Christian Virtues, which at the time of his

March 4, 1570. coronation as Grand Duke he presented to Pope Pius V.

As long as his health permitted, Cellini continued to work, and during the year before his death made two small models for a Juno, which he intended to cast in bronze for Francesco de' Medici, and also terminated his two treatises upon the goldsmith's art, and upon sculpture, which are dedicated to the Cardinal

A.D. 1569. Fernando de' Medici.

Trattato dell' Orificeria.

In the treatise upon the goldsmith's art, which is most valuable as a record of the several processes introduced by him, and of those used in his day, he discourses upon niello-work and jewellery; upon the nature of precious stones, their proper setting, and of the foils to be used for coloured stones; of enamels; embossed work in gold and silver; and of the making of rings, medallions and bracelets. In the treatise upon sculpture, he speaks of the art of casting in bronze, and of the different qualities of marble, and adds a few unimportant pages upon sculpture and painting.

Autobiography.

By far the most important of his literary labours, and a most graphic picture of a life replete with stirring adventure, is his Autobiography, which he began when he was fifty-eight, and carried on to his sixty-third year. So highly was it esteemed for expressive diction, and rich use of those forms of speech peculiar

[1] Cellini demanded 1,500 golden scudi and received 700 for this work.

to the Florentines, that notwithstanding its involved style, and frequent misuse of words, it was placed by the Accademia della Crusca[1] among the books selected as authorities; an honour which would perhaps have astonished Cellini, who, though esteeming himself perfect in every other art, confessed himself a 'bad speaker and a worse writer.'[2]

To us it is most interesting as a picture of the times in which Cellini lived, and through it we catch glimpses of many men of the first half of the sixteenth century, eminent not only in public, but also in private life. Popes, kings, cardinals, men of letters, artists and people of every class figure in its pages, and above all the man himself, with his libertinism, his swaggering, his indiscriminate amours which, like those of Don Giovanni, were 'già mille e tre' long before his death; with his ceaseless quarrels, frequent assassinations, and endless complaints of bad usage; all of which are told without reserve, as are the few really good acts which graced the life of one, who with a man's growth and strength lived like a child, without self-control, giving way to every impulse. Among these we must not omit to mention how, after his return from France, he took his widowed sister Liberata Tassi, and her six fatherless children into his house, gave them a monthly allowance, and treated them with such kindness, that the 'pane d' altrui' lost its bitterness in their mouths.[3]

The letters, petitions and poems of this singular man, show us that he considered himself poorly paid for his services, which indeed he habitually over-estimated. It is true that the Duke often treated him coldly, delayed his payments, and disappointed his hopes, but at the same time he bestowed upon him a pension of two hundred golden scudi a year, made him a free gift of

[1] Founded eleven years after Cellini's death.

[2] Letter to B. Varchi, written in Jan. 1546. *Trattato*, p. 273.

[3] 'I can only say that my return to Italy was solely caused by my desire to assist my six poor nephews, children of my sister, all of whom I endowed.' Gaye, vol. iii. p. 598.

a house in the Via del Rosario,[1] and bought many of his works at the value set upon them by good judges.

We have seen how long-suffering Francis I. was in bearing with his 'escapades,' and yet Cellini, who had left his accounts in an unsatisfactory, if not in a falsified state, complains in one of his petitions to the syndics, that the King still owes him 25,000 gold scudi, and that his pupil Ascanio has robbed him of gold and silver vases, jewels, &c. &c., worth 3,000 scudi, which he had entrusted to his care.

Cellini's poetry.

Like so many of the great Italian artists, Cellini wrote sonnets and madrigals, as well as religious, artistical, amorous, laudatory, and vituperative poems; among the latter, one addressed to his enemy Bandinelli is especially remarkable, on account of its extraordinary argument that he is less to be blamed for his homicides, than Bandinelli for the marbles which he has broken and defaced, since his victims are put out of sight, while those of Bandinelli remain above ground to his eternal disgrace.[2]

Last days.

Early in December 1570, Cellini, becoming seriously ill, made a will, in which he divided his property between his wife and his three children; signified his wish to be buried in the church of the Annunziata; and bequeathed a wax model of Neptune (intended for the before-mentioned fountain) to Don Francesco de' Medici, to whom he wrote shortly before his death, 'If I had not been hindered by a most dangerous illness, I would have cast my Juno for you in bronze, as it is nearly finished. The disease which has laid me low has baffled my physician, and many other able men; nevertheless, although I am seventy years old, I still fight against death.'[3]

His death, Feb. 13, 1571.

A month and a half later, death gained the victory; and after ten days, as we read in the record of his funeral obsequies,

[1] For deed of gift, *vide* Gualandi, *op. cit.* Series V., p. 62.

[2] De' vivi ho percosso io; ivi molti sassi
Fracassati e distrutti; qual si vede
Biasmo a voi: e' mia cuopre la terra. Sonnet 59.

[3] Appendix to *Vita*. No. 65, p. 569, dated Dec. 20, 1570.

kept in the archives of the Academy of Fine Arts,[1] 'Messer Benvenuto Cellini was buried, according to his order, and with great funeral pomp in our chapter-house at the Annunziata, in the presence of our Academical body and the Company. After proceeding to his house we took our appointed position, and then, preceded by the monks, followed the bier, which was carried by four academicians and the usual mutes to the church; where after the usual ceremonies, a friar who had been previously selected for the purpose, pronounced an oration in praise of his life and works, which was much admired by all those who crowded into the chapter-house in order to see Messer Benvenuto, and to hear what was said in his honour. The illumination of the church and chapter-house was most brilliant during the continuation of the ceremony.'[2]

CHRONOLOGY.

BENVENUTO CELLINI—	A.D.
Born	1500
Studies to be a goldsmith under Michelangelo da Viviano, Antonio di Sandro and Ulivieri	1515
Principally at Rome. Makes candelabra for the Bishop of Salamanca—many gold medals for Roman gentlemen — a cope button for Pope Clement VII. &c. . .	1518—1540

[1] *Doc.* 70, p. 578.

[2] The well-authenticated works of Cellini are few in number; they consist of three medallions of Clement VII., Alessandro de' Medici, and Francis I.; a cup of lapislazuli, with three handles, in enamelled gold, and the lid of a rock-crystal cup, in the Uffizi; three cups and a flask of enamelled gold, with dragon-shaped handles, in the plate room of the Pitti Palace; a salt-cellar made for Francis I., and an oval medallion of Leda and the Swan, in the 'Cabinet d'Antiques' at Vienna; a reliquary of enamelled gold, with the Adoration of the Magi in alto-relief, in the Rich Chapel of the Royal Palace at Munich; the cover of a 'livre d'heures' in the museum of the Duke of Saxe Cobourg Gotha; an antique cameo mounted by Cellini, with chased and enamelled figures in relief, masks, and a figure of Victory holding two prisoners in chains, in the medal cabinet of the Imperial Library at Paris.

	A.D.
Bombardier at the Castle of S. Angelo	1527
At Mantua. Makes a reliquary for the Duke and a seal for the Cardinal Gonzaga	1528—1529
Makes a die for Alessandro de' Medici . . .	1530—1531
Leaves Rome. Goes to Padua: makes a medallion of Cardinal Bembo. Goes to France, and then returns almost immediately to Rome	1537
Is confined in the Castle of S. Angelo . . .	1538—1540
Is liberated through the mediation of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. Visits Ferrara: makes a silver basin and a cup. Goes to Paris and enters the service of King Francis I. . .	1540
Casts the bas-reliefs of the Nymph of Fontainebleau; Louvre, Paris. Finishes a salt-cellar for the King; Cabinet d'Antiques, Vienna	1543
Completes a silver statuette of Jupiter for the King . .	1544
Returns to Florence and enters the service of Duke Cosimo I. .	1545
Finishes the model for his Perseus, and casts it in the next year	1548
Casts a bronze bust of Bindo Altoviti; Palazzo Altoviti, Rome	1552
It is set up in the Loggia de' Lanzi	1554
Receives an order for two pulpits for the Duomo . .	1556
Completes a marble crucifix; Escurial . . .	1559
Dies at Florence, Feb. 13	1571

PERSEUS. (By Cellini).

CHAPTER IV.

BACCIO BANDINELLI AND HIS SCHOLARS.

Quel fu invidioso, avaro, scarpellino.

IN a sonnet entitled 'The Dream of Benvenuto,' Cellini says that in his sleep he heard the Muse of Painting lamenting that her lamp had gone out, and left her in the dark.[1] This lamp (he explains) is sculpture, 'which all the best painters have used when modelling the figures for their pictures in small, before beginning to paint, and with its aid, as our great Michelangelo has said, have shed light around them. Thus did Masaccio by his frescoes in the Carmine at Florence; Lionardo da Vinci by his works at Florence and Milan; and our sculptor, painter and architect Michelangelo by his at Rome; and after their death, Painting weeps over her decay, and having become blind, lives groping her way. Furthermore,' says Cellini, 'I saw Sculpture and Architecture in an equally miserable plight, wandering in the dark, and weeping together at the feet of the great Michelangelo, who burdened with his eighty-five years had grown powerless to succour, although he greatly pitied them. Thus abandoned, they turned in a despairing mood to that noble demigod Hercules, castigator of the evil creatures of the earth, and called three times upon him for aid. At the third summons Hercules answered, that he had once come in a marble shape, when called by

[1] Michelangelo in a letter to Varchi says, 'A me soleva parere che la scultura fosse la lanterna della pittura.' — *Lett. Pitt.*, Bottari, vol. i. p. 7.

Bandinelli,[1] and had been so dreadfully misrepresented and maltreated, that he did not wish again to descend into such benighted regions, "though it is true," he added, "that had I been called by that artist who made the statue of my nephew Perseus, I might have consented; but as he has not called me, I prefer to keep company with these poor abandoned ones, Sculpture, Architecture, and Painting, and to join my lamentations to theirs in these words, Alas! we are lost! no one can save us."'

Baccio Bandinelli, b. 1487.

Bartolomeo or Baccio Bandinelli, of whom Hercules had indeed good reason to complain, figures largely in the pages of Cellini's Autobiography, and in the artistic records of the time, but in no enviable light. 'My father,' says Cellini,[2] 'in despair at my refusal to study music, put me into the workshop of Bandinelli's father, a goldsmith from Pizzidimonte, who was very clever in his art. He had certainly no reason to boast of his ancestors, as he was the son of a charcoal-burner, which would be no shame to Bandinelli, who founded the reputation of his family, if he had himself been worthy of honour.' Michelangelo di Viviano da Gaiuole,[3] the goldsmith here referred to, was employed in the Mint at Florence, and enjoyed a great reputation as a niellist, enamelist, and goldsmith. He laid the foundation of his son Baccio's favour with the Medici by his faithful adherence to their house, serving Lorenzo de' Medici and his brother Giuliano (for whom he made a masterly suit of armour to be worn at the great tournament which was held in the Piazza Sta. Croce), and then Piero, who when about to fly from Florence, placed in his hands many precious articles of gold, silver, and jewellery, which he faithfully guarded, and gave to the Cardinal Giovanni on the restoration of the family to power.

Michelangelo di Viviano.

A.D. 1468.

A.D. 1494.

A.D. 1512.

[1] Refers to Bandinelli's group of Hercules and Cacus, or to the Hercules which he modelled for the Loggia de' Lanzi when Pope Leo X. visited Florence. Note the delicate compliment which Cellini pays himself about 'the statue of my nephew Perseus.'

[2] *Vita di Cellini*, p. 13.

[3] Gaiuole is a small town between Florence and Siena.

He employed many young men to assist him in his workshop,[1] among whom were Cellini and Montelupo, whom we have already mentioned; and there also instructed his son Baccio, who early showed great talent for drawing, which he developed after his own fashion, by frequently going to his father's house[2] at Pizzidimonte, a village near Prato, 'where,' says Vasari, 'he would make the labourers strip themselves, that he might draw them, *as well as the other cattle upon the farm*;'[3] and as he often went to Prato to copy the frescoes painted by Fra Filippo Lippi in a chapel of the Duomo,[4] it will be seen that few young artists had better opportunities for forming a pure style. He was still further favoured when he began to study sculpture in the studio of Francesco Rustici, for he there constantly saw Lionardo da Vinci, whom he greatly admired, and from whose famous cartoon of the Battle of the Standard he is said to have made some admirable studies.

Baccio's early education.

This cartoon, together with that by Michelangelo which represented an incident of the Pisan war, hung in the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, until during the confusion consequent upon the deposition of Soderini, and the restoration of the Medici, some malevolent person secretly entered the room and deliberately cut it to pieces. This person Vasari tells us,[5] was none other than Baccio, who was prompted to the dastardly act either by hatred of Michelangelo, or by a desire to prevent other artists from studying the cartoon, or by a wish to possess himself of some parts of it. His reputation was so bad that the tale has obtained ready credence, but a careful examination of the evidence shows, that he could neither have committed the deed in 1512, as stated by Vasari in Bandinelli's life, or in 1517, as affirmed by the same

Destruction of Michelangelo's cartoon. A.D. 1512.

[1] It was in the street which leads from Or San Michele to the Mercato Nuovo.

[2] This house, which is eleven miles from Florence, is now a villa.

[3] Vasari, vol. x. p. 295.

[4] These frescoes, which represent scenes from the history of St. John the Baptist and St. Stephen, were painted between 1456–1464.

[5] Vasari, vol. x. p. 296.

loose writer in that of Michelangelo, for Cellini tells us that
A.D. 1518. when Torrigiano came to Florence from England in 1518, he was himself occupied in making a drawing of it. Perhaps the strongest proof of Baccio's innocence is to be found in the silence of Cellini, who being an ardent admirer of Michelangelo, and as ardent a hater of Bandinelli, would never have passed the accusation over had he believed it; nor would Condivi have stated that no one knows how it was destroyed had there been any certainty about the matter.

Motives of Baccio's hatred of Michelangelo.

Throughout his life Baccio endeavoured to bring himself into competition with Michelangelo, whom he considered his only rival, whom he hated as one who had unjustly usurped a place in the world's eyes, which belonged of right to himself, and whom he ever hoped to humiliate by a success, for which he struggled with a meanness of motive that neutralised his talent, and rendered his knowledge useless. Hoping to outdo him in painting, and at the same time to make it appear that he had mastered that art without study, he went to his friend Andrea del Sarto, and asked him to paint his portrait, meaning to discover his method of work, as well as to obtain the picture for a model. Andrea, who would have been perfectly ready to instruct him had he asked him to do so openly, was displeased at his underhand manner of obtaining his end, and worked in such a way, that Baccio could never see what he was about. Baulked in this scheme, he went to study with Il Rosso, from whose lessons he derived so little profit, that he gave up the attempt, and resumed the chisel.

Divers works.

In sculpture he at first gained some success by a statue of St. Jerome, which showed great knowledge of anatomy, and was warmly praised by Da Vinci; and by a Mercury, which was sent to Francis I., by whom it was greatly valued. By these works as well as by his name, which was in itself a passport to the favour of the Medici, he obtained the patronage of the Cardinal Giovanni and of his brother Giuliano; and later received from Cosimo I.

a commission for a statue of St. Peter, which was placed in the Duomo at Florence.

In the following year Baccio greatly injured his growing reputation by a very bad figure of Hercules, which he modelled to stand under one of the arches of the Loggia de' Lanzi, when Leo X. entered Florence on his way from Bologna to Rome; and A.D. 1515. which was the more severely criticised, because he had boasted that it would eclipse Michelangelo's David. Thus again his vanity and meanness of motive defeated his ends; enemies sprang up on every side, whom he embittered by his manners, which were so rude that even when he wished, as was rarely the case, to do a favour, he did it in such a way that it became an insult.

> La vostra forma e l' arrogante voce
> Dimostra che di luoghi alpestri siete,
> Che più diletta a voi, quel che altrui noce.

Always speaking ill of the works of others, and always boasting about his own, cringing to men in power, and tyrannical to his inferiors, he became the universal object of distrust and dislike.

Hoping to obtain a commission from Leo X. to make a group to be set up in the Medici Palace at Florence, he shortly after carried to Rome the sketch of a David; but the Pope, not being inclined to employ him in that way, sent him to work under Andrea Sansavino at Loreto.[1] After quarrelling with everyone there, he again returned to Rome, whence he went to Florence to sculpture a statue of Orpheus for Leo X., who had also ordered A.D. 1515. him to make a marble copy of the Laocoon, which he intended Copy of the Laocoon. to give to Francis I. in lieu of the original, imprudently promised to him at Bologna. Its execution was interrupted during the Papacy of Adrian VI., though we know that it was far advanced at the beginning of his short reign, through the report given

[1] Serragli affirms that Bandinelli completed the bas-relief of the Nativity for the Santa Casa in 1531, wherefore he must have gone there twice, if, as asserted by Vasari, he worked under Andrea Sansavino while Leo X. was Pope.

A.D. 1523. by the Venetian ambassadors to the senate of their complimentary embassy on his accession, in which, after expressing their great admiration for the Laocoon, they say that a copy for the King of France has been begun, and that the boys' figures are already finished; and add 'that if the master who is copying it should live five hundred years, and attempt it a hundred times, he would never produce anything to be compared in excellence with the original.'[1]

Pope Clement VII., under whose reign it was terminated, being less critical than the Venetian envoys, was so delighted, that he determined to give the French King some antique statues in its place, and having himself purchased the group, sent it to
A.D. 1531. Florence, where it was placed in the court of the Medici Palace. Baccio now thought that he had eclipsed the Antique, and drew upon himself the ridicule of his contemporaries, which was expressed in a caricature (attributed to Titian) of an old ape and two young ones, writhing in the coils of a serpent.[2] His copy, which is but a weak imitation of the original, now occupies a place of honour in the Uffizi, where it suffered severely from the
A.D. 1762. great fire in the last century, which destroyed many much more valuable works of art.

A.D. 1527. When the Medici were banished from Florence for the third time, Bandinelli, being a known adherent of their house, and particularly obnoxious to the Florentines, found it prudent to go to Lucca, after burying some cameos and antique bronzes belonging to the Medici, in his villa at Pizzidimonte. After their return to power he once more took up his residence in his native

[1] The ambassadors were Marco Pandolo, Antonio Giustiniani, Luigi Moccinigo, and Pietro Pesaro. *Relazioni degli Amb. Veneti*, II. series, vol. iii. p. 77; Reumont, *Beiträge*, vol. iii. p. 444.

[2] Vasari says, in Bandinelli's *Life*, that he made a wax model for the right arm of the Laocoon, which was wanting to the original. Elsewhere he says Montorsoli restored it in marble. Fea (*Misc.*, vol. i.) says that the stucco arm, as it is at present, was made by a sculptor of the seventeenth century named Cornacchioni.

city, and from his lodgings in the Medici Palace, wrote weekly letters to the Pope, containing accounts of art matters, and information about those of his fellow-citizens who were still devoted to the republic, and therefore liable to the most severe treatment when betrayed. Baccio acts as a spy. A.D. 1530.

Baccio was at this time working upon a group of Hercules and Cacus, which had been originally assigned to Michelangelo, as a pendant to his David, but had been taken away from him by Clement VII.,[1] who wished to employ him upon the fresco of the Last Judgment. On its way from Carrara (where it had been quarried during Michelangelo's residence there in the lifetime of Leo X.) the block of marble from which it was to be made, fell into the Arno; hearing of which accident, a wit said that it had drowned itself rather than submit to the terrible alternative of being hacked to pieces by Bandinelli.[2] With great difficulty it was brought to land, and delivered to Baccio, who was about to set to work, when the expulsion of the Medici forced him to leave Florence. Michelangelo then proposed to use it for a statue of Samson;[3] but as on the termination of the siege he was forced to devote himself exclusively to the works at San Lorenzo, the block again fell into the hands of Baccio who had returned with the Medici, and who made out of 'one of the finest pieces of marble ever brought to Florence,' what the best critics considered as the very worst group ever executed there.[4] Its vulgarity, pretentiousness, and bad modelling offered the rhymesters a new field for the exercise of their powers, of which they fully availed themselves.[5] Cellini's answer to Bandinelli, Group of Hercules and Cacus. A.D. 1534. A.D. 1546.

[1] Director of the works at San Lorenzo.

[2] In a Latin epigram by Gio. Negretti, which was printed in the *Viaggi per la Toscano di Gio. Targioni*, vol. ii. p. 42.

[3] The sketch for this figure is supposed to be that in the Museum at South Kensington.

[4] *Mem. Fior. Inedite del Cav. Settimani*, Gaye, vol. ii. p. 177.

[5] The following epigram upon it is one of the best—

Ercole non mi dar, che i tuoi vitelli
Ti renderò con tutto il tuo bestiame;
Ma il bue l' ha presso Baccio Bandinelli.

when he complained of them to the Duke in his presence, was hardly too severe, and is so amusing that we give it in his own words.

'"My Lord," said Bandinelli, "when my Hercules and Cacus was shown to the public, more than a hundred sonnets were addressed to it of the most abusive character." To which (says Cellini) 'I answered, "My Lord, when our Michelangelo showed the many admirable statues in the Chapel of San Lorenzo, more than a hundred sonnets of the most laudatory character were addressed to them, and it is clear that both Bandinelli and Michelangelo thus got their deserts." At these words Bandinelli bursting with rage turned upon me and said, "And pray, what is your opinion?" "I will tell you," I answered, "if you have the patience to listen." "Say on," he said; and while the Duke and his attendants stood listening, I began by saying, "Know that it pains me to tell you all the defects of your work, though it is not I, but the public voice which speaks through me;" upon which this bad fellow either said some evil words, or made some disagreeable movements with his hands and feet, and made me so angry that I minced matters much less than I otherwise should have done. "The critics say (added I) that if you shaved off the hair upon the head of Hercules, you would not find skull enough to hold any brains; that his face is a cross between that of a lion and an ox; that he does not attend to what he is doing: that his head is abominably set upon a pair of shoulders, which look like the cross trees of an ass's pack-saddle; that you must have copied the muscles about his breasts, not from a man, but from a bag of melons set up against a wall; that no one can tell how his legs are stuck on to his wretched body, nor on which he rests his weight, or if on both as is often the case in figures made by clever artists, although it is clear that he is quite out of the perpendicular, which is in itself the grossest error; that the action of his arms is awkward, and that they are modelled in a way which looks as if you had never seen the nude; that the right leg of Hercules and that of Cacus are stuck together so

closely that if they were separated, not only one but both would be left without any calves; and lastly, that while one of the feet of Hercules is buried in the ground, the other looks as if he felt fire under it."'[1]

A little while before this scene took place, Cellini who had been especially irritated by the insinuations against him, which Bandinelli poured into the ears of the Duke, met him one evening half way up the hill to Fiesole, on his way to a farm which he owned in that neighbourhood, and resolved to murder him on the spot, but seeing how deadly pale he grew, and how he trembled from head to foot, contented himself with saying, 'Vile coward, fear nothing from one who does not consider you worthy of his blows.'[2]

The Duke was actually afraid to set up the group of Hercules and Cacus in the Piazza on account of the general feeling against Bandinelli; and when urged by Pope Clement he decided to do so, found it necessary, in order to preserve the public peace, to imprison some of those who made themselves most conspicuous in their demonstrations against it. When Charles V. bestowed upon Baccio the title of Cavaliere[3] and the order of St. Jago, the relentless sonnetteers again exercised upon him their wit, of which the following is an example:—

Oh poor *Baron!*
Messer San Iago, do not break your heart
At seeing a stone-cutter made Commendatore,
Who by no other favour
Can repay you, but by making you a statue, so ugly
That you will run away in fear.

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[1] *Vita di Cellini*, pp. 414–416.

[2] The fountain (whose water flows from two lions' mouths into a basin) near San Domenico, on the little road which leads up to Fiesole, was sculptured and set up by Bandinelli close to the gate of his farm. It is inscribed with his name and the date 1556.

[3] On receiving the title of Cavaliere, Baccio claimed descent from the noble Bandinellis of Siena, of which Pope Alexander III. was a member. Reumont, *Beiträge*, vol. iii. p. 448.

Tombs of Clement VII. and Leo X.

Clement VII.'s desire that Baccio should come to Rome, and sculpture his monument and that of Leo X., had made him urge Duke Cosimo to set the group of Hercules and Cacus in its place. Several sculptors, among whom was the celebrated Alfonso Lombardi from Ferrara, were anxious to obtain the commission for these monuments, so that it was with difficulty, and after much intriguing and truckling to influential personages, that Baccio obtained the appointment, which, as we learn through the letters of Baldassar Turini to Cardinal Cibo and Duke Cosimo, he fulfilled in a thoroughly careless and mercenary spirit.[1]

Turini's letters.

In one of these letters, which Gaye says are as good as a biography, Turini begs the Cardinal to send the necessary marbles to Rome as economically as possible; 'because the Cavaliere Bandinelli has so managed his affairs with your Reverences that he has eaten up almost all the money set aside for making the monuments; and in truth it was a shame to have promised him six hundred scudi for a bas-relief, which could have been better made for three hundred by some one else; and three hundred instead of a hundred and fifty for a small relief; and four hundred apiece for the figures of SS. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, and Evangelists, instead of two hundred; and five hundred apiece for the two Popes, which could have been better made than he will make them for three hundred; and, Reverend Sirs, if you had seen and could see the desire he shows to use all this money, and the haste he has made to finish these figures and reliefs, whether well or ill, you would be astounded; indeed, it has been, and will be, a great shame, if your Reverend Signories continue to allow him to treat you in this manner.' Turini then states that Baccio was so angry at having been refused permission to go to Florence by Monsignor Ridolphi, who feared he would never come back again, that he had gone off leaving his work in such a state that

[1] Gaye, vol. ii. pp. 277 and 283, gives an account of Turini. See note vol. ii. ch. ii. of this work.

no one could do anything with it, and having broken with his hammer a part of the drapery of the statue of St. John the Evangelist. He is so false,' continues Turini, 'that if you are not upon your guard he will make you believe whatever he wishes, and will lie in his throat about everything. If he had me to deal with, he would not have stolen two thousand scudi out of the sum set aside for the monuments.' A few months later Turini writes to beg Duke Cosimo to send Baccio back to Rome that he may finish his work, procuring him a safe conduct from the governor of the Apostolic Chamber, and adding, 'God grant that he may serve your Excellency with all desirable faith and love, for his nature is so bad and avaricious, that he thinks more about the few bajocchi which he can gain upon his work, than of a hundred dukes.'

The two monuments are thoroughly second-rate in design and workmanship, and that of Leo X. is especially unworthy of so renowned a patron of art. The statues, which were sculptured by Montelupo, have not even the merit of being true to life, as Pope Leo never wore a beard, and Pope Clement always did so after the siege of Rome, in token of grief.[1]

March, 1540. Baccio had gone to Florence in hope of obtaining the commission for the proposed monument to the Duke's father, and had succeeded in his object; but the urgent letters of Turini to Cosimo induced the latter to send him back to Rome, where he resumed his work, as we learn from another letter, in which

April, 1541. Turini says, 'If I had not been as patient as Job, I could never have negotiated with a man whose brain is more unstable than a leaf, and who proposes one thing at night, and another in the morning.'[2] After completing his portion of the tombs at Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, Baccio returned to Florence and began the

Monument of Giovanni delle Bande Nere. monument of Giovanni delle Bande Nere, whose half-finished statue, a heavy, unmeaning, ill-proportioned figure, when brought

[1] Litta, *Famiglie Celebre It.*, vol. xii.

[2] Gaye, vol. ii. p. 276.

a few years since from the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, and set up at the corner of the Piazza San Lorenzo, was thus apostrophised by the descendants of those Tuscan rhymesters who had written so many verses upon Bandinelli during his lifetime:—

> Messer Giovanni delle Bande Nere,
> Dal lungo cavalcar noiato e stanco,
> Scese di cavallo e si posa a sedere.

The base upon which this shapeless statue of the great captain rests is elaborately adorned with a rich frieze, Ionic columns, festoons, and other ornaments; and with a pretentious bas-relief, in which the hero is represented as pronouncing sentence upon a group of prisoners.

Thinking it necessary to compete with Michelangelo in architecture as well as in sculpture, Baccio, although utterly ignorant of that art, projected a plan for remodelling the Palazzo Vecchio, which the Duke fortunately considered too expensive to be carried out; after which he offered to build a palace for the Duchess at Pisa, having assured her that 'prudent princes always make use of the best artists, who not only work with unrivalled zeal for their employers, but also spend their money in the most economical way possible.' These schemes having proved abortive, he persuaded the Duke to allow him to decorate the High Altar of the Duomo with statues;[1] and the marble balustrade around the choir with figures of prophets and apostles in relief, which he conceived and executed in a better style than that of his other works. This cannot be said of the statues belonging to the altar, which are now scattered about the city; the group of Adam and Eve being in the Palazzo Vecchio; the dead Christ in the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce; and the God the Father in the cloister of the same church. By all these works (says Vasari) Baccio having pleased

[1] Baccio had full authority given to him over all stone-cutters, masons, workmen, wood-carvers, and servants employed in the Duomo. Gaye, vol. ii. p. 498.

himself, thought he should please the public equally, but, like their predecessors, they 'were cruelly lacerated in sonnets and Latin verses.' One of these anonymous productions expressed the general feeling as to the utter unfitness of the Adam and Eve for a church, saying that as our first parents deserved to be turned out of Paradise for disobedience, they deserved to be turned out of the Duomo for their indecency and vulgarity; while an anonymous writer, who records the day on which they were first exposed to public view, says that the city was scandalised that the Duke should permit such works to be placed in a cathedral, and before an altar upon which the Holy Sacrament was exposed;' and adds, 'I hope the day is not far distant when God will send his saints to overthrow these idols.'[1]

March 19, 1549.

The statues at Sta. Croce are beneath criticism, and yet Bandinelli thought so much of the Dead Christ, that after he had modelled it, he wrote to the Grand Duke's secretary (Jacopo Guido): 'If I should grow old or die before I finish it, even the Duke's grandchildren will never see it completed, as in this century the art of drawing must die with me; good draughtsmen were always rare, and at present there is not one who shows any sign of talent.'[2]

Thanks to the favour of the Duchess,[3] Baccio in his latter years was employed to decorate the gardens of the Pitti Palace. He also competed for the fountain in the Piazza della Signoria with Cellini, Ammanati, and John of Bologna. His last, and one of his best works, is the Pietà in the Pazzi Chapel at the Annunziata, which had been begun by his son Clement, a young sculptor of considerable promise, who left Florence on account of his father's ill-treatment, and died at Rome a few months later.

Pietà at the Annunziata.

Overwork, and the emotion caused by having with his own

[1] Gaye, Appendix, vol. iii. p. 500.

[2] *Lett. Pitt.*, Bottari, vol. i. p. 45.

[3] So says Vasari. Cellini, however, tells us that the Duchess disliked him.

hands removed the bones of his father to a new vault, which he had constructed under this chapel, brought on an illness which proved fatal to Baccio, who himself became its next occupant.[1]

A.D. 1559.

His best pupil, Giovanni Bandini,[2] was employed to complete the bas-reliefs of the choir balustrade in the Duomo, which he had left unfinished at the time of his death. Vincenzo Rossi da Fiesole was another of his pupils, whose best works are the prophets and apostles in the Capella Cesia at Sta. Maria della Pace at Rome. The statues representing the Seven Labours of Hercules, which he sculptured for the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, may be classed as among the dregs of Michelangelo's school.

Ammanati, born at Settignano in 1511. M. 1592.

Bartolomeo Ammanati, one of the most noted among the architects and sculptors of this time, also studied under Baccio Bandinelli when a very young man, but, either from a distaste for his style, or because he could not bear with his violent and insolent temper, soon left him to join Jacopo Sansavino at Venice, where he worked with Cataneo, Vittoria, and his other pupils, upon the statues, bas-reliefs, and stuccoes for the library of St. Mark.[3] On leaving Venice, Ammanati returned to Florence, where, by studying the tombs of the Medici, in the Cappella dei Depositi at San Lorenzo, he greatly improved himself in his art; but while he caught the manner of Michelangelo, he failed to attain that grandeur of spirit and style which ennobles the works of that master. He then made some statuettes for the tomb of the Neapolitan poet Sannazzaro, and a Leda, which so pleased the Duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo II.), who purchased it, that he gave him

[1] Besides his villa at Pizzidimonte and his farms at Fiesole and near San Salvi, Baccio owned a house in the Borgo Pinti, another in the Via S. Sebastiano, and another in the Via Ginori. Reumont, *Beiträge*, pp. 439–441.

[2] Commonly called 'dell' Opera,' because of his long connection with the Opera del Duomo. This artist sculptured the statue of Architecture for the tomb of Michelangelo at Sta. Croce, and the statues of SS. Philip and James the Less for the Duomo. His bust of the Grand Duke Cosimo I. stands over the door of the Opera del Duomo.

[3] Vide Baldinucci, vol. iii. p. 336; Temanza, p. 243; Vasari, vol. xiii. pp. 91, 100.

a commission for the monument of the late Duke Francesco Maria.[1]

At this time there lived at Padua a professor of jurisprudence, named Marco di Mantova Benavides, who being a great lover of art, had collected many antique marbles, bronzes, coins, and rare objects of 'virtu,' and modern pictures and statues, by Raphael, Tintoretto, Ricci, Donatello, Sansavino, and other eminent masters.[2] Desirous of rendering his palace worthy of these treasures, Benavides employed Ammanati to build an entrance to it in the form of a triumphal arch,[3] with niches containing statuettes of Jupiter and Apollo; and to model a colossal statue of Hercules for its cortile, of which he himself writes to the Archbishop of Florence, 'It is twenty-five feet high, and composed of eight pieces admirably joined together; every one who sees it is struck with admiration, and Palladio, Sansavino, and other distinguished artists are amazed at the great success of so young a master in so difficult an undertaking.'

A.D. 1544.

Ammanati's works at Padua:

We suspect that Benavides was not much of a critic, and was quite capable of thinking that a colossal work must necessarily be grand; he was certainly vainglorious, for he not only had five medals struck off in his honour, and printed a funeral oration which had been written upon him by a certain Girolamo Negri who had heard a false report of his death, but also employed Ammanati to erect a costly monument to him in the church of the Eremitani. He is represented upon it as surrounded by allegorical figures of Learning, Labour, Honour, and Renown, and as watched over by three genii, one of whom is Immortality. Though all these works are weak and pretentious, they are not vulgar, like those of Bandinelli.

Benavides' monument.

[1] Being out of proportion with the little church of Sta. Chiara, where it stood, it was removed and probably broken up. Dennistoun's *Dukes of Urbino*, vol. iii. pp. 337, 379; Gualandi, III. series, note iv. p. 41.

[2] Anonimo, p. 24, with Morelli's notes, p. 148. See Appendix, letter A.

[3] The triumphal arch now forms the entrance to the gardens of Casa Venezzi, and near it stands the Hercules in a very injured state.

We do not know whether it was during his first visit to Urbino, or not until his return from Padua, that Ammanati fell in love with the poetess Laura Battiferri, whom Bernardo Tasso called the 'Pride of Urbino,' and Annibal Caro 'the new Sappho,'[1] though she was much her superior in modesty and decorum of life. The Duchess of Urbino (Vittoria Farnese), loth to lose one of the chief ornaments of her court, refused to pardon her rebellious subject for a long time after her marriage with our sculptor had taken place at Loreto.

Laura Battiferri.

A.D. 1550.

Immediately after it, Ammanati went to Rome, where he devoted himself especially to the study of architecture, in which art he afterwards gained great and merited distinction,[2] and, through the joint influence of Vasari and Michelangelo, obtained a commission for the tombs of Cardinal Antonio de' Monti and his father, in the Church of San Pietro in Montorio, which were to have been sculptured by Montelupo, had he not lost favour with Michelangelo, on account of the unsatisfactory manner in which he had worked for him at San Pietro in Vincoli.

Ammanati goes to Rome.

His works there.

By advising Pope Julius III. to employ Ammanati, Michelangelo showed that he had quite forgiven him for having, when very young, helped Nanni di Baccio Bigio to carry off a number of his drawings from the house of his scholar Antonio Mini; an affair which was hushed up when they were given back, as a piece of youthful indiscretion, prompted by excessive admiration for the great sculptor's works. Though very inferior in style to the recumbent prelate statues by Andrea Sansavino at S. Maria del Popolo, those of the Cardinal de' Monti and his father by Ammanati resemble them in attitude. In niches above them stand statues called Religion and Justice; but in justice we are

[1] *Life of Leo X.*, vol. ii. p. 128, and nota 77, p. 450. Laura Battiferri's poems are chiefly of a devotional character. They were published by Giunti in two vols. A.D. 1560. See Appendix to this chapter, letter A.

[2] The collection at the Uffizi contains a volume containing drawings for an imaginary city by Ammanati, consisting of ground plans, elevations, &c. &c. Cl. 184, No. 25.

compelled to say that there is no religion in either, and so little significance, that we are at a loss to determine which is which.

Although employed by the Pope to work at his villa outside the Porta del Popolo, Ammanati determined, after completing these tombs, to go back to Florence, where he was graciously received at court, and constantly employed both as architect and sculptor. Among the first works which he made after his return were the fountain at Pratolino which bears his name, and the group of Hercules and Antæus at Castello, in which the vulgar idea of making the water pour out of the mouth of the Libyan giant, as if forced from it by the crushing arms of his conqueror, is not compensated for by any great excellence in design or workmanship.

His return to Florence, and subsequent works. A.D. 1557.

Ammanati soon had an opportunity of employing his time more usefully, as he was commissioned by the Grand Duke to rebuild the Ponte Sta. Trinità, which had been destroyed by a terrible inundation.[1] This beautiful bridge, which is one of the chief ornaments of the city, and one of the most beautiful structures of the kind in the world, combines great strength with elegance, grace of line, and simplicity of design, and is assuredly Ammanati's best title to fame. While occupied in its construction, he was also working upon the fountain for the Piazza della Signoria, his most important work in sculpture.

Rebuilds the Ponte Sta. Trinità, A.D. 1569.

Fountain in the Piazza della Signoria.

The history of 'that poor ill-starred marble,' out of which he made a gigantic Neptune for this fountain, 'is (says Cellini) an example of the fate which often attends him, who trying to escape from one evil, falls into another ten times worse, since in trying to escape from Bandinelli, it fell into the hands of Ammanati.' It is said that, before the block was removed from the quarry, Bandinelli went to Carrara and cut it down to the size which he thought would suit his model, thinking that he should thus force the Duke to give him the commission; and immediately after

[1] Baldinacci, vol. ii. p. 352.

his return to Florence, began to model the statue, when he was
A.D. 1559. taken ill and died. Five artists then competed for the coveted opportunity: viz. Cellini and Ammanati, who had temporary studios arranged for them by shutting in two of the arches of the Loggia de' Lanzi; Gian Bologna, who worked in the convent of Sta. Croce; Vincenzo Danti, a Perugian sculptor, in the palace of Ottaviano de Medici; and Il Moschino, at Pisa. There is no doubt that John of Bologna made the best design, as he was by far the best sculptor, but he was set aside on the ground that it would be unsafe to entrust one so young and inexperienced with an important work. Cellini might have won the day, had he not, with his usual boldness of speech, read the Duke a lecture in presence of the Lucchese ambassador, upon the risk he ran of disgracing himself by not selecting the best model. The Duke answered the remark of the ambassador, that his Benvenuto seemed to be a terrible fellow, by saying, 'It would be well for him if he were less so, as he would have gained much that he has now lost.'

Ammanati's model being the next best, he received the order for the whole fountain, which he completed in 1571. The colossal
Ammanati's Neptune. Neptune which crowns it, is an awkward, heavy, meaningless figure, mounted on a car drawn by sea-horses; below it are many male and female figures, and ornaments in bronze. His attitude is meant to be easy but is only weak; his expression shamefaced; and his size out of all proportion with the rest of the fountain.

Both at Rome and Florence Ammanati was much employed as
The Pitti Palace. an architect, and in the latter city completed the Pitti Palace, which after the death of Brunelleschi (whose original design was lost) had remained in an unfinished state, until Eleonora di Toledo bought it, and commissioned Ammanati to build the cortile, 'in which the three classical orders are arranged in stories one over another, but rusticated as if in a vain endeavour to assimilate themselves to the façade.'[1] Its great defect is the want

[1] Fergusson, *Modern Styles of Architecture*, p. 85.

of a projecting cornice, which may either be accounted for by the supposition that a fourth story was originally intended, or that it is a blunder of Ammanati's.

His professional gains and the very handsome property which his wife inherited at her father's death, enabled them to live a life of ease and usefulness, at the Villa Caserotta near Florence. Madonna Laura died three years before her husband, who was greatly afflicted at her loss, which, coupled with his advanced age and failing eyesight, must have rendered him willing to depart when his hour came. 'His friends,' says his biographer, 'wept at his death for the loss of a dear friend, the poor for a constant helper, the priests for a zealous promoter of the Divine worship, the artists for a great master, and all the city of Florence for a distinguished architect.' The virtues and excellencies of both husband and wife are commemorated by an inscription upon the slab which marks their resting.place in the church of San Giovanni,[1] which he had amplified and embellished at his own expense.

His death, April, 1592.

In a letter written by Ammanati ten years before his death[2] to the members of the Florentine Academy of design, he expresses himself desirous of making a public confession of his repentance for having sculptured undraped figures, such as fauns, satyrs, giants, &c. &c., in which he considers that he has greatly sinned against God; and being unable to destroy these works, whose evil influence must survive him, he warns all artists to take care, that at the end of life they may not have need of like repentance and unavailing regret; and exhorts them especially to avoid the representation of inappropriate figures in churches. He closes with a prayer that God may always preserve them, and prosper the works of their hands, recalling to them these words of Michelangelo, 'Che i buoni Cristiani sempre facevano le buone e belle figure.'

Aug. 22, 1582.

[1] Vide Gaye, vol. iii. p. 554, *Testament di B. A.*

[2] Baldinuccio, vol. ii. p. 396, 404.

CHRONOLOGY.

BARTOLOMEO (BACCIO) BANDINELLI— A.D.

Born 1487

Studies in the workshop of his father Michelangelo di Viviano, a goldsmith. Sculptures a statue of St. Jerome, a Mercury (both lost), and a St. Peter, for the Duomo at Florence.

Models a Hercules for the Loggia de' Lanzi . . . 1515

Commences a marble copy of the Laocoon. Now in the Uffizi . . . . . circa 1522

Sculptures the group of Hercules and Cacus for the Ringhiera of the Palazzo Vecchio . . . . . 1530—1534

Goes to Rome to make the monuments of Clement VII. and Leo X. for the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva . 1534—1535

Terminates all but the papal effigies, which were afterwards sculptured by Montelupo 1541

Receives the commission for a monument to Giovanni delle Bande Nere, which he began to work upon at the end of the following year, but never finished . . . 1540

Finishes statues for the high altar of the Duomo at Florence, viz. the Adam and Eve now in the Palazzo Vecchio, the Dead Christ in the Baroncelli Chapel, and the God the Father in the Cloister at Sta. Croce 1549

At this time works upon the bas-reliefs of Prophets, &c., upon the balustrade in the Duomo at Florence, completed by his scholar Giovanni dell' Opera after his death.

Sculptures a Pietà for the Pazzi Chapel in the Annunziata, about 1555

Dies at Florence 1559

BARTOLOMEO AMMANATI—

Born 1511

Studies under Bandinelli. Works at Venice under Jacopo Sansavino. Sculptures statuettes for Sannazzaro's tomb in S. Maria del Parto; a Leda for the Duke of Urbino; and the monument of Duke Francesco Maria for the Church of Sta. Chiara at Urbino.

Goes to Padua: makes an arched entrance to the palace of Benavides, and a colossal statue of Hercules for its cortile. 1544

Studies architecture at Rome, and makes the tombs of Cardinal de' Monti and his father at S. Pietro in Montorio . after 1550

Returns to Florence: constructs a fountain at Pratolino, and sculptures a group of Hercules and Antæus for a fountain at Castello. Finishes the Pitti Palace . . . 1561

	A.D.
Completes the Ponte Sta. Trinità	1569
Completes the fountain on the Piazza della Signoria at Florence	1571
Dies at Florence	1592

ANGEL.' (By Tribolo. At St. Petronius.)

CHAPTER V.

TRIBOLO AND GIAN BOLOGNA.

IN the year 1525, the directors of the works then in progress about the church of San Petronius at Bologna, became so tired of the quarrels which constantly arose between Zaccaria da Volterra, Niccola da Milano, Aspertini, Properzia de Rossi, and other artists in their employ, that they sent one of their number, Signor Barbazzi, to Florence, to find some sculptor of ability, who would take the direction of matters into his own hands. Among the artists who were pointed out to him as fit for this difficult task, was Niccolo Braccini,[1] commonly called Tribolo, either (as Vasari tells us) because in his youth he was the torment of his companions, or (as seems more probable from his peaceful character) because he was the butt of everybody less timid than himself. This sculptor, after studying a short time with Nanni Unghero the wood-carver, had become the scholar of Jacopo Sansavino, under whom he made rapid progress, and when Lorenzo Strozzi gave him an order for a group of two boys and a dolphin, to adorn a fountain at the Villa Caserotta (at San Casciano), acquitted himself of the commission with great credit. Having satisfied Signor Barbazzi of his competency, Tribolo left Florence for Bologna, taking with him Il Solosmeo and Simone Cioli (fellow pupils in the studio of Sansavino), who assisted him in sculpturing, after his designs, twelve bas-reliefs, representing

N. 1485.
M. 1550.

[1] His family name is not certain. Vasari, vol. x. p. 243, nota 2. His father was named Raffaelle, and surnamed Il Riccio de' Pericoli.

the Flight of Lot, Jacob wrestling with the Angel, the History of Joseph, and other subjects from the Old Testament, and many sibyls and angels around the inner side of the arch, above the two side doors of the church.[1] Though, like all the sculpture of this period, influenced by Michelangelo, their style is far less exaggerated than that of his other imitators, and are greatly superior in every respect to any works of Montorsoli, Montelupo, or Bandinelli; they may be looked upon as Tribolo's best works. Before completing them he went to Carrara[2] to obtain marble for the monument of Signor Barbazzi, whose sudden death occurred during his absence from Bologna, and then to Pietrasanta, where he visited his friend Anastasio Stagi, who was famous for ornamental sculpture, and while there made an angel for the Duomo. He then spent some time at Florence, where he appears to have resided during the siege, as we read that he secretly assisted Benvenuto di Lorenzo in making a cork model of the city, which was forwarded to Rome in a bale of wool, that Pope Clement might the better comprehend the progress of the siege. Shortly after, he went to Rome, and was employed under Michelangelo da Siena, upon the monument of Pope Adrian VI., for the church of Sta. Maria dell' Anima. The four statuettes of Justice, Courage, Peace, and Prudence, are pointed out as by him, but as they do not resemble his other works, and as the whole monument was completed during the year in which he arrived at Rome, we do not think it probable that they are so.

Bas-reliefs at S. Petronius.

A.D. 1529.

Tribolo was next sent by the pope to Loreto, to work with Simon Mosca, Montelupo, and other rising sculptors, upon the bas-reliefs of the Santa Casa, and while there, assisted Antonio di

[1] La Basilica di S. Petronio, by the Marchese Davia. See plates of left door, Nos. 3, 4, 6, 9; see plates of right door Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 12. Angels and Sibyls, 19–29.

[2] Campori, *op. cit.* p. 358, says that while at Carrara he sculptured the two adoring angels now in the Zambeccari Chapel at San Petronius; but these, according to Gualandi, are by Properzia de' Rossi. Vide *Tre Giorni in Bologna*, p. 16.

Sangallo in sculpturing the Translation of the Santa Casa, and the Marriage of the Virgin.[1] In the first of these reliefs, which is an example of the worst sort of pictorial treatment, the mountains and clouds are clumsily sculptured, and the thick-limbed, heavy, short-set figures are badly arranged, in a disjointed manner which does not merit the name of composition. The youth breaking his bow (in the second relief), which is spoken of by Vasari as Tribolo's master-piece, looks like a man of sixty, vainly trying to balance himself on one foot. It is difficult to understand how a sculptor, who had shown abilities of no ordinary kind at Bologna, should have thus sunk below mediocrity at Loreto; nor can we account for it otherwise than by supposing that Quercia's works, which were constantly before his eyes at San Petronius, had a far happier influence upon him than the marbles of the Santa Casa.

From Loreto he went to Florence, where Michelangelo commissioned him to model, for the Cappella dei Depositi, the statues of Earth weeping over the loss of Giuliano de' Medici, and Heaven rejoicing over the acquisition of his spirit; but hardly had he begun to do so, when he was attacked with a fever, from
A.D. 1534. which he did not recover, until the death of Pope Clement had caused the cessation of all work upon the Medici tombs. He then determined to go to Venice, where his old master, Jacopo Sansavino, had always promised him employment, and as Cellini was also desirous of making the journey, they travelled together to the great discomfort of poor Tribolo, who being (at least so says Cellini), the most timid of men, was kept in a state of constant alarm by the 'escapades' of his companion.[2] Having had a violent quarrel at Ferrara with some young men, whom Cellini threatened with his drawn sword, and then drove headlong down the stairs of the inn, they were followed to the banks of the Po by

[1] Vasari says Tribolo's first visit to Loreto took place in 1533; but Serragli says he went there in 1526. Vasari, vol. x. p. 250, nota 2.

[2] *Vita di Cellini* p. 160 *et seq.*

the same persons, and not allowed to embark, until the doughty goldsmith had once more routed his antagonists. Arrived in Venice, they went to see Sansavino, who to Tribolo's great disappointment, declined to employ him; he however invited them to breakfast, during which meal he praised himself, and abused all other artists, including Michelangelo, which made Cellini so angry, that he said to him, 'O Master Jacopo, great men are more readily known by the praises of others, than by those which they bestow upon themselves.' With these words our two Florentines took their leave, and returned to Florence, where they arrived after many stirring adventures, in which Cellini played the braggart and brawler, and abused his companion, whom he stigmatised as a coward.

Soon after their return, when the Emperor Charles V. was about to make his triumphal entry into Florence, Tribolo modelled A.D. 1536. colossal statues of the rivers Bagradus and Ebro, of Peace with an olive branch, and of Hercules slaying the Hydra, under which an inscription stated that 'As Hercules by labour and toil had vanquished monsters of many kinds, so Cæsar, by virtue and clemency had vanquished or pacified his enemies, and restored peace to the earth.'[1] A few months later he modelled two victories in half-relief, bearing in their hands eagles from whose necks the imperial arms were suspended, and several heads and statues of children, for the palace of Ottaviano de' Medici, which in the short space of ten days was enlarged and adorned by Vasari, Andrea di Cosimo, and ninety other sculptors and painters, with paintings and stucco ornaments, for the reception of Margaret of Austria, the natural daughter of the Emperor, and the bride of Alessandro de' Medici. Early in the month of June she was borne to this palace, in a magnificent litter, by forty of the first young men of Florence, who, with many of the nobility arrayed in the richest costumes, had advanced as far as San Donato to meet her.

[1] Varchi, *St. Fiorentine*, vol. iii. p. 174.

Tribolo was at this time again working at Bologna upon a bas-relief representing the Assumption of the Madonna, for the Zambeccari Chapel in the church of San Petronius. This relief is pictorially treated, but though much better than his work at Loreto, is not so good as that about the doors of San Petronius. While thus occupied, it was proposed that he should assist Michelangelo, who was to be recalled from Rome to finish the sacristy of San Lorenzo at Florence, but the project was aban-
A.D. 1537. doned after the assassination of Alessandro de' Medici. To this event, Vasari alludes in a wretched spirit of sycophancy, as a blow to the prosperity and greatness of art, adding that Tribolo on hearing of it, 'condoled with me on the loss of so great a prince, my beloved Lord!'

With the election of Cosimo I., and the certainty that the crushed liberties of Florence ran no chance of revival, the spirits of Vasari and his friend Tribolo rose, and the latter, to his great delight, was soon recalled to Florence by the Duke, to decorate the pleasure grounds of Castello and Petraja, two villas at the foot of Monte Morello, which are still among the most attractive in the neighbourhood of the city. At Castello he made two beautiful fountains, upon the lower basin of the larger of which, lie several well modelled and gracefully disposed boys in bronze;[1] and one at Petraja, whose shaft he decorated in the taste of the Renaissance, with 'putti' and grotesques, and about whose base he grouped syrens and dolphins.[2] When the Duke was married
A.D. 1539. to Eleonora di Toledo, our sculptor designed and set up a superb triumphal arch at Porta al Prato; superintended the pictorial decorations of the Medici Palace; and modelled an equestrian statue of the Duke's father, which was greatly admired. His facile talent was again called into exercise at the baptism of the
A.D. 1541. Duke's first-born son, on which occasion he transformed the Baptistry into an apparently new and sumptuous temple, with a

[1] The group of Hercules and Antæus on the top is by Ammanati.

[2] The charming Venus Anadyomene which crowns it is by John of Bologna.

temporary font of rich design, crowned by the charming St. John of Donatello, which had been brought for the purpose from the Casa Martelli.

During the latter years of his life he prepared for himself infinite trouble, by giving up sculpture for hydraulics. The rebellious waters which he attempted to control for the benefit of his fellow citizens, broke their bounds, and spread desolation over the country, causing much abuse to be heaped on the head of the incompetent engineer. Anxious lest his want of success should deprive him of the Duke's favour, and worn in body as well as mind, Tribolo fell ill, and while tossing with fever was visited by Vasari, who wisely counselled him when he should recover, to set himself to finish the works at Castello, and let the rivers alone, in which he was more likely to drown his fame than to increase his honour and usefulness; but poor Tribolo was not permitted to follow this advice, as he shortly after expired, aged sixty-five. At the time of his death, he was occupied in laying out the Boboli gardens, adjoining the Pitti Palace, which had been purchased in the previous year by the Duchess Eleonora.[1]

Sept. 7th, A.D. 1550.

He was not a man of great genius, though he had very remarkable talent, and facility of invention, and was generally free from the weak Michelangelism of the time, and as the bas-reliefs at St. Petronius prove, had no contemporary rivals in his art, with the single exception of Gian Bologna.

Gian Bologna.

Giovanni or Gian Bologna, as he is more commonly called, was certainly the most noted sculptor of his day, an artist whom Tuscany may claim with pride, for although not born within her limits, he owed his education, advancement, and success to the many years which he spent there. He was born at Douai, which then belonged to the Low Countries (whence his Italian appellation of Il Fiammingo), but in what year seems uncertain. Baldinucci says about 1525; Borghini 1530; but we are disposed to think that even this latter date is somewhat premature,[2] as in

[1] Gaye, *Mem. Fior. Ined.*, vol. ii. p. 380.

[2] Vol. xiii. p. 190.

his very short notice of this sculptor, written after the fountain at Bologna was finished in 1566, Vasari speaks of him as a 'most rare youth,' an appellation hardly applicable to a man of thirty-six. Baldinucci himself, in the life of Ammanati, mentions
A.D. 1559. him as a very young man, 'assai giovane,' at the time of the competition for the Neptune fountain at Florence, when he must have been thirty-four, if the date of his birth as given by that writer be correct.[1]

His early education.

As a boy, Giovanni Bologna, or Boullogne (according to the strict orthography of his family name), showed so plainly what nature had intended him to be, that his father was obliged to relinquish his purpose of educating him as a notary, and place him under the care of a sculptor and engineer at Douai, named Beuch. This master having visited Italy in his youth, naturally talked to his pupil about the wonders of art which he had seen there, and by these conversations so stimulated his longings, that he determined to go to Rome without delay. When he arrived there he studied every fine work of art to which he could obtain access, and at the same time exercised himself by making original designs. One of these pleased him so much, that he carried it to Michelangelo, who took it in his hand, and after examining it began to remodel it, and change its attitude, and then gave it back to the abashed aspirant, advising him to learn how to sketch before he attempted to finish.

After two years' residence at Rome Gian Bologna started on his return to Douai, but fortunately for him, while passing through Florence he had the good fortune to attract the notice of Bernardo Vecchietti, 'a wealthy and highly educated connoisseur,'[2] who was so much struck with the talent shown in the sketches which he had brought with him from Rome, that he not only counselled him to remain at Florence, where he could study the antique and the works of Michelangelo, but also most generously

[1] Baldinucci, vol. ii. p. 555.

[2] Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 8.

gave him the means of doing so, by lodging and supporting him in his own house for three years.

Much of this time was spent by the young sculptor at Vecchietti's villa, 'Il Riposo,' which Vincenzo Borghini has made the scene of his well-known conversations upon art and artists. At this villa Vecchietti, who was a practical goldsmith and bronze-caster,[1] had a forge and workshop, whose ruins are still visible, so that Gian Bologna could practise his art there as well as in the city.

After winning golden opinions from all who saw his sketches in clay and wax, the young sculptor silenced the tongues of those who doubted his ability to do anything equally good in more durable materials, by making a marble Venus, whose beauty induced Vecchietti to present his *protégé* to Prince Francesco, who bestowed upon him his patronage and an annuity. This Venus, possibly the same now placed in the grotto opposite the entrance to the Boboli gardens,[2] was so much prized by the prince, that he kept it in his chamber; but that it did not satisfy the artist in his later years, is shown by his having several times in vain entreated that he might be allowed to improve it.[3] About this time occurred the competition for the fountain on the Piazza della Signoria, but although Gian Bologna made a better design than Cellini or Ammanati, he did not obtain the commission, because he was said to want experience in working marble. It is natural to suppose that he used the model then made, for the colossal Neptune which he afterwards cast in bronze for the fountain at Bologna, as he would hardly have thrown aside one on which he had spent so much time, and by which he had gained much applause,

His marble Venus.

A.D. 1559.

[1] In his letters to Prince Francesco de' Medici, Vecchietti speaks of some precious stones which he has had mounted for him, and in sending two sketches of terminal figures modelled by Gian Bologna, he says, 'If you desire them to be cast and cleaned in my workshop, it shall be done with speed and diligence.' Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. iii. pp. 143–225. See Appendix to this chapter, letter A.

[2] Vasari, *Schiarimenti intorno a Gian Bologna*, vol. xiii. p. 206.

[3] Gaye, *Lettera di S. Fortuna al Duca d' Urbino*, vol. iii. p. 440.

when called upon to treat the same subject. The design for this fountain had been furnished by a Palermitan painter named Tommaso Laureti, who when sent to Florence to find two artists capable of carrying it out, selected a caster of repute named Zanobi Portigiani, and Gian Bologna, who was allowed by Prince Francesco to accept his offers, at the request of the vice-legate of Bologna. A contract was made on August 20, by which the two artists bound themselves to model and cast in bronze, the colossal Neptune, which was to be nine feet in height; four children; as many sirens; and the city arms with their ornaments and festoons, within the term of ten months. The work was not however finished until three years had elapsed, during which Prince Francesco recalled Gian Bologna to Florence, but in consideration of the great injury which must result to the fountain by his prolonged absence, he allowed him to go back and fulfil his obligations there. As compared with the Ammanati fountain at Florence, this one at Bologna is a masterpiece; the giant Neptune, although somewhat heavy, is well-modelled, and not without life and presence, though when looked at in juxtaposition with any fifteenth century work, it shows the great decline of art, as it wants both individuality and ideality, is neither realistic nor spiritual, and being neither positively bad nor really good, belongs to a class of works which are hard to criticise, because they have no salient points.

Contract for the fountain at Bologna. A.D. 1563.

A.D. 1566.

While Gian Bologna was finishing this work, he had a visit from his very dear friend Vasari, whom (we learn from a letter written to Borghini, in April 1566) he received with open arms. We have a similar attestation of their friendship, and of the opinion which Vasari had of the artist's talents and industry, in a letter written by him to Prince Francesco from Rome six years later, in which he calls him 'the prince of sculptors,' and says that since his arrival he has greatly benefited himself 'by modelling and drawing half Rome.'[1]

Vasari visits Gian Bologna.

[1] Gaye, *op. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 213, 306.

The Mercury.

Who does not know the Mercury of Gian Bologna, that airy youth with winged feet and cap, who with the caduceus in his hand, and borne aloft upon a head of Æolus, seems bound upon some Jove-commissioned errand? Who has not admired its lightness and truth of momentary action, which none but an artist skilful in modelling and well versed in anatomy could have attained, since Mercury like, it has winged its way to the museums and houses of every quarter of the globe?

The year in which the original[1] was cast is not known, as the first mention of it relates to a repetition made for Prince Ferdinand, which, in obedience to the advice of the Papal Nuncio at Vienna, (who had informed the Prince that the Emperor of Austria was very fond of art, 'and especially covetous of bronze statues,') was sent by him with other works of art, as a present to his future father-in-law, in hopes of facilitating the negociations for his marriage with the Princess Giovanna.

The Rape of the Sabines.

A scarcely less famous work of this sculptor is his marble group of the Rape of the Sabines, which may be considered as his masterpiece. Modelled with no reference to subject, it was merely intended by the sculptor to be a skilful composition of a stalwart youth,[2] bearing away a struggling woman from a vanquished foe. What a comment upon the decadence of art, which no longer intent above all things upon the representation of some important subject, had now become only a medium for the display of skill!

[1] Now in the Uffizi. It was at one time taken to Rome and placed above the fountain of the Villa Medici, where it remained until the middle of the last century, when the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo I. caused it to be carried back to Florence.

[2] It is said that Gian Bologna, when about to model this figure, was so struck with the manly proportions of the Conte Ginori, member of a noble Florentine family, whom he happened to meet one morning in a church, that he stared at him fixedly, until the Count asked him who he was and what he wanted. Upon explaining the matter, the count consented to pose for the figure of the youth, and in return for his kindness received a present of a bronze crucifix, as an acknowledgment of the artist's gratitude.

When finished, it was named by Vincenzo Borghini, by whose advice, and as a key to his newly found subject, the sculptor modelled a bas-relief upon its base, representing the Roman youths carrying off the Sabine women. Sonnets and laudatory effusions in prose and verse, so numerous as to fill a volume,[1] were affixed to this much admired group, and the sculptor's studio was filled with scholars, anxious to avail themselves of his instructions. Among these were Pietro Francavilla, a Flemish artist, sculptor of the statues of the Four Seasons upon the Ponte Santa Trinità; Pietro Tacca of Carrara, who made the monument to Duke Ferdinand at Leghorn, and cast his equestrian statue for the Piazza of the Annunziata at Florence, from a model made by his master in his old age; and many Germans, Flemings, and Italians.

We will not fatigue the reader with a description of the many works which Gian Bologna executed during his long career; one of the best is the bronze equestrian statue of the Grand Duke Cosimo I. in the Piazza della Signoria, in which the rider's head is noble in expression and his seat firm, but the horse is heavy and mannered in action. The group of Hercules and Nessus, which stands near the Rape of the Sabines, is clever, but not its equal. A group called Victory, in the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, a St. Luke at Or San Michele, a fountain in the Boboli gardens, the huge giant genius of the Apennines, in stucco which crouches above the lake at Pratolino, and the really charming bronze statuette of Venus which crowns a fountain at the royal villa of Petraja, are also works of no ordinary merit. Less generally known is the colossal group of Samson killing a Philistine, which was presented to Sir W. Warley's grandfather by King George III.,[2] and still exists at Hovingham Hall, York.

Finished in 1594.

A.D. 1599.

A.D. 1602.

[1] Entitled 'Ratto delle Sabine.' In 1732 Gabussi wrote to Mariette that he had vainly tried to find a copy of it. Bottari, *Lett. Pitt.* vol. ii. p. 275. See also Borghini's *Riposo*, pp. 54–57.

[2] This group, which according to Vasari (vol. xiii. p. 191), was of three

The inferiority of Gian Bologna to the great Tuscan masters is even more evident in his bas-reliefs than in his statues. The most important are those on the base of the equestrian statue of Cosimo I.; those around the choir of the church of the Annunziata; and those upon the doors of the cathedral at Pisa. Bologna's bas-reliefs.

The destruction of the old bronze gates of this cathedral by fire, in the year 1595, furnished Gian Bologna with a noble opportunity to show his strength. Twice during the last four centuries had Tuscan sculptors been offered a similar opportunity for distinction, and in the work which each accomplished, we may trace the rise, progress, and decline of art.

That those of Bonnano were thoroughly Byzantine in style, we may conclude from his small ones, which close the doorway of the Duomo towards the Leaning Tower. Between these and the gates cast by Andrea Pisano in the fourteenth century for the Baptistry at Florence, which are models in point of composition and feeling, art had indeed made a stride as from infancy to manhood. A hundred years later, Ghiberti enriched the same building with his famous gates, which for technical perfection, richness of composition, and display of invention, still rank as first of their kind in the world. Two centuries later, Gian Bologna, the greatest master of his day, replaced the gates of Bonnano at Pisa by those A.D. 1180.

figures, and according to Baldinucci and Borghini of two, stood over a fountain in the Casino di S. Marco at Florence. In 1601, the group, with the basin and other ornaments belonging to it, were sent to Spain by the Grand Duke Ferdinand as a present to the Conte di Lerma, minister of King Philip III. (Vasari, vol. xiii. p. 207.) When the Duke of Buckingham accompanied Prince Charles to Spain, the Cardinal Duke of Lerma had just fallen into disgrace: the Duke of Buckingham purchased the group, and sent it to England to adorn the garden of Buckingham House. When the Crown purchased that palace, King George III. gave it to the grandfather of Sir William Warley, who set it up on its original pedestal at his seat in Yorkshire. A MS. account exists of the cost of conveying this group, which was called the giant (its height being 7½ ft.) from the interior of Spain to Santander. A beautiful bronze reduction, about three feet high, signed Adrian Fries, may be seen in the Edinburgh National Gallery.

Bronze doors of the Cathedral at Pisa.

which now fill the great doorway of the cathedral, whose panels are filled with compositions confused in line, devoid of feeling, and thoroughly second-rate, and whose only merit, namely excellence in casting, which was attainable because the processes of the font were then better understood than ever before, is not due to Gian Bologna, but to Domenico Portigiani,[1] son of that Maestro Zanobi who worked with him on the fountain at Bologna. This artist was a Dominican monk, belonging to the convent of St. Mark at Florence, who being more inclined by nature to artistic than to ecclesiastical studies, made himself an accomplished architect through the study of Vitruvius and Alberti, and by devoting his leisure hours to the practice of casting in bronze, attained great skill in that art, and especially in the difficult operation of cleaning and polishing the bronze after it had issued from the font. Under Gian Bologna, with whom he long lived on terms of intimacy, he made still further progress, and was associated with him in making six statues and as many bas-reliefs designed by Bologna for the chapel of St. Anthony in the church of St. Mark, which, as Domenico died before their termination, or that of the Pisan doors, were completed by his nephew and pupil Zanobi, assisted by his fellow-scholar Angelo Serrano.

Died 1601, aged 65.

Altar in the Duomo at Siena.

It is evident from the altar which Gian Bologna made for the Duomo at Siena, that he had no idea how to treat religious subjects fitly. Architecturally it is but a reminiscence of the Medici chapel; while its statues of the Saviour as the Liberator, and of SS. Peter and Paolino are weak and mediocre. He failed whenever he endeavoured to handle any subject demanding thought, and succeeded only when aiming at the elaboration of an abstract idea which demanded little feeling, and gave scope for display of technical skill as a modeller or a bronze-caster. His biographers and contemporaries describe him as diligent in serving, ready to please, and always decorous and polite. 'The best fellow

[1] His contract for the casting of these doors and their accessories is dated April 1597. Marchesi, *Mem. &c.*, vol. ii. book iii. p. 306.

in the world,' says Fortuna, in a letter to the Duke of Urbino; 'not in the least covetous, as he shows by his poverty; filled with a love of glory, and ambitious of rivalling Michelangelo.' [1]

He died when nearly eighty-four years old, and was buried at the Annunziata, in the chapel of the Madonna del Soccorso, which he had adorned at his own expense with a crucifix and several bas-reliefs in bronze, not only as a place of sepulture for himself, but as we learn from the inscription upon his tomb, for any of his countrymen who should die at Florence. August, 1608.

The remaining artists of this period rise too little above mediocrity, to make it worth while to give any detailed account of them. Among the best was Vincenzo Danti of Perugia, whose best work is the bronze statue of Pope Julius III. on the Piazza of his native town, and who, though educated as a goldsmith, obtained reputation as a sculptor, military architect, and poet. The Florentine, Stoldo Lorenzi, was, if we may judge by the Adam and Eve in niches upon the façade of the Church of San Celso at Milan, a clever imitator of the antique. The Eve is but an imitation of the Venus de' Medici, and owes much of its effect, as does the Adam, to its proximity to the mass of baroque sculpture, with which the Milanese artist, Annibale Fontana, covered this façade. N. 1530. M. 1576. N. 1534. M. 1583.

As the San Celso archives of the period are lost,[2] we have no means of knowing how Stoldi happened to be in Milan, or why he only made these two, instead of four statues, for which he originally contracted. There is a story, however, which may be taken for what it is worth, that Fontana, who was famous as a goldsmith, intagliatore, and cameist, but who had never before worked in marble, determined to compete for this façade, and having with A.D. 1555–1594.

[1] Gaye, vol. iii. p. 440.

[2] *MS. History of Lombard Artists*, by Bossi and Cataneo, in Bibliotheca Melzi (cartella 13), Milan.

this intent obtained a block of marble, took a studio adjoining the one occupied by Stoldi. Being of a curious disposition, and anxious to find out what his neighbour was about, Stoldi watched him through a hole which he made in the door, and saw in his work such proofs of genius, that he determined to resign his situation as sculptor to the Capitolo di San Celso. When urged to give his reason, he said that 'mortals who compete with angels in the same profession, stand but a poor chance of success.'[1] At the time of his death, which is mentioned in a letter from Vecchietta,[2] Stoldi was about to sculpture a statue of St. Mark for Or San Michele, which was subsequently assigned to Gian Bologna.

Born about 1500.

Another Florentine sculptor of this period, who passed the greater part of his life in France, whither he came with Primaticcio, was Paul Ponzio Trebatti, who was employed by that artist to model such figures in stucco at Fontainebleau, as he and Il Rosso were in the habit of adding to their paintings. His monumental figure in bronze of Alberto Pio of Savoy, prince of Carpi, formerly in the Church of the Cordeliers, may now be seen among the Renaissance sculptures in the Louvre; as well as those of Charles de Magny, captain of the guard under Henry II., and of André Blondel de Rocquencourt, controller-general of the finances under the same monarch. Trebatti was long supposed to have been the sculptor of the tomb of Louis XII., which has now been restored to its veritable author, Jean Juste of Tours.[3] This sculptor, who is probably identical with Ponce Jacquio, worked for about forty years in his adopted country, during the reigns of Francis I., Henry II., Francis II., and Charles IX.

[1] *MS. History of Lombard Artists*, by Bossi and Cataneo, in Bibliotheca Melzi (cartella 7), Milan.

[2] Gaye, vol. iii. p. 460.

[3] Emeric David, *Hist. de la Sculpture Française*, p. 157; Vasari, *Life of Primaticcio*; Barbet de Jouy, *Sc. Mod. au Louvre*, p. 20.

The first volume of this work, which treats of the predecessors of Michelangelo in Tuscany, is filled with the histories of men of real genius; the second, which we now conclude, contains the life of but one really great artist, Michelangelo; of another, Benvenuto Cellini, whose gifts were many, but whose taste was vicious ; and of a third, Gian Bologna, who, though a man of decided talent, worked without noble aims, intent only upon displaying his technical skill. The contrast between the two volumes speaks for itself. Tuscan sculpture possesses no longer any interest. Let us then leave it, but not without expressing the hope, that the future, which seems to promise so much for Italy, the second country of all who love art, has regeneration in store for sculpture also, and that with laws, letters, and other arts, it may again rise to the level of its former glory.

CHRONOLOGY.

Niccolo Braccini called Il Tribolo—	A.D.
Born	1485
Studies under Nanni Unghero and then under Jacopo Sansavino. Makes a group of two boys and a dolphin for the Villa Caserotta at San Casciano.	
Goes to Bologna to sculpture bas-reliefs about the doors of San Petronius	1525—1526
At Florence makes a cork model of the city for Clement VII. .	1529
At Rome. Works with Michelangelo da Siena upon the monument of Adrian VI. for the church of S. Maria dell' Anima	1529
Goes to Loreto. Assists in terminating the bas-reliefs of the Translation of the Santa Casa, and the Marriage of the Virgin	1530

A.D.

Goes to Florence and begins to model statues for the Cappella dei Depositi . . . . . circa 1532
Goes to Venice and returns to Florence . . . 1534
Models colossal decorative statues for the entry of Charles V. into Florence; and bas-reliefs for the Palace of Ottaviano de' Medici 1536
At Bologna. Sculptures a bas-relief of the Assumption of the Madonna for the Zambeccari Chapel at St. Petronius . 1536
Returns to Florence. Designs fountains for Castello and Petraja . . . . . 1537—1538
Is employed upon architectural and sculptural decorations in honour of the marriage of Cosimo I. and Eleonora di Toledo 1539
Decorates the Baptistry in honour of the baptism of the Duke's first-born son 1541
Works as an engineer . . . . . about 1545
Dies at Florence 1550

GIAN BOLOGNA—

Born . . . . . 1530?
Studies at Douai under a sculptor named Beuch; goes to Rome while very young. Settles at Florence. Sculptures a Venus which is purchased by Prince Francesco de' Medici.
Competes for the fountain on the Piazza della Signoria . 1559
Contracts for the fountain on the Piazza at Bologna, Aug. 20 . 1563
Completes it 1566
Casts a Mercury in bronze, now in the Uffizi. Sculptures a group called the Rape of the Sabines . . . 1564
Completes the equestrian statue of Cosimo I., Piazza della Signoria 1594
Group of Hercules and Nessus, Loggia de' Lanzi . . 1599
Group called Victory. Hall of the Palazzo Vecchio. St. Luke at Or San Michele. A fountain in the Boboli gardens. Colossal figure in stucco at Pratolino. Bronze Venus on a fountain at Petraja 1602
Contracts for the bronze gates of the Duomo at Pisa, April . 1597
Dies at Florence: and is buried at the Annunziata . . 1608

VINCENZO DANTI DA PERUGIA—

Born 1530
Bronze statue of Pope Julius III. on the Piazza at Perugia.
Dies 1576

	A.D.
STOLDI LORENZI DA FIRENZE—	
Born	1534
Statues of Adam and Eve in niches on the façade of San Celso at Milan.	
Dies	1583
PAUL PONZIO TREBATTI—	
Born	about 1500
Dies	unknown

VENUS. (By Gian Bologna. At Petraja.)

APPENDIX AND ADDENDA

TO

THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX

TO

THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

A.

Tempesti (*Ant. Pisanæ*) attempts to prove that the Duomo at Pisa was founded in 1005, but Tronci (*Annali Pisani*, pp. 37, 38), Morrona (*Pisa Illustrata*), and the inscription upon the Church itself say, A.D. 1063, immediately after the taking of Palermo by the Pisan fleet. Its architect was a Pisan, named Boschetto. *Vide* Roncioni, part i. p. 120, in vol vi. of *Arch. St. It.*

The burial of distinguished persons in pagan sarcophagi was common during the Middle Ages; *e.g.* Charlemagne, who was buried in a Roman sarcophagus sculptured with a bas-relief representing the Rape of Proserpine; and the French martyr, St. Andreol, in one inscribed Tid. Jul. Valerianus. *Vide* M'Farlane's *Catacombs of Rome*, pp. 128, 129.

The Abbate Tosti, in his life of the Countess Matilda, thus refers to this fact (at pp. 167, 168): 'Ne fu sola Beatrice che andasse cosi a sconciare le ceneri dei pagani per locarsi nel loro sepolcro, trovandosi nel anzidetto Campo Santo Pisano ed in altre chiese le urne pagane.'

The following inscription may be seen upon the sarcophagus of the Countess Beatrice:—

QUAMVIS PECCATRIX SUM DOMNA VOCATA BEATRIX,
IN TUMULO MISSA, JACEOQUE COMITISSA.

Morrona, *Pisa Ill.*, vol. i. p. 295, nota 1.

B.

Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian, says that De Vineis and a physician named Pietro had laid a plot to poison the Emperor; *vide* Sismondi, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 46–48. Dante tells us that in the following

year, De Vineis was considered to have been the victim of calumny, and when he meets him in the Inferno (*vide* canto xiii.), puts these words into his mouth :—

Credendo, col morir, fuggir disdegno,
Ingiusto fece me, contra me, giusto.

Tiraboschi coincides in this opinion (vide *Hist. della Lit. It.*, vol. v. p. 26). Cherriér, *Hist. de la Lutte*, &c., vol. ii. p. 374, thinks that De Vineis was, perhaps, concerned in secret negociations with the Roman Court, by which he hoped to make peace for his master and himself, and that he thus became an object of suspicion to Frederic II. He says that the sentence was given and executed at S. Miniato, in Tuscany, and that on his way to Pisa, De Vineis dashed his brains out against the column of a church. In the Preface to the Epistolæ (pub. at Basle, 1566), it is said of him, 'Unde ipse conscientiæ stimulis agitatus, nec sine luminibus vivere sustinens, sibimet ipse mortem in publico omnium conspectu conscivit.'

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

A.

M. 1240. The monument of a Queen of Cyprus, named Hecuba, in the Duomo at Assisi, was probably made by some one of Niccola's scholars, perhaps Lapo. Vasari (vol. i. p. 260) attributes it to a certain Fuccio, 'scultore fiorentino,' who, he says, built the Church of Sta. Maria sopra l'Arno, at Florence, in 1229, upon which he inscribed his name thus, 'Fuccio mi feci' (*sic*). The inscription possibly refers to a person of that name, who caused the church to be rebuilt in 1180, but cannot allude to any architect, as none such is known (Vasari, vol. i. p. 259, nota 3). The only Fuccio of note in the thirteenth century, was the famous robber referred to by Dante in the lines,

son Vanni Fucci
Bestia, e Pistoja mi fu degna tana.

This Vanni Fuccio despoiled the Sacristy at Pistoja of its treasures, A.D. 1293, for which he and his accomplice, Vanni di Mirone, were hung, and their bodies afterwards dragged through the streets, tied to horses' tails.

B.

Artists who worked upon the Façade erected by Giotto.

Vol. IV. p. 591. Giovanni d'Ambrogio, Sc. and Arch., December 19, 1384, recorded as having been paid for statues, among which was a St. Barnabas. December 28, 1396, paid three months' salary. He was assisted by his son.

P. 522. Lorenzo di Giovanni, August 25, 1396, paid for statues of the Virgin and two Prophets.

P. 524. Nanni di Bartolo (called Rosso), intagliatore; 'quis recepit pro parte solutionis unius figuræ marmoris mictende (*sic*) in Campanile dictæ Ecclesiæ.'

Pier Gio Tedesco vel de Bramantia, paid for an Angel, pro opera (del Duomo); ditto for a Saint, and four crowned Saints: ditto for four Doctors of the Church, to be placed in four tabernacles of the façade.

Pp. 529–531. Niccolà di Pieri, called Augusto Nicolao Pieri Lamberti, called Niccolo d'Arezzo (scholar of Moccio Sanese), n. 1350, m. 1417, sculptured two statues for Campanile.

Pp. 451–456. Francesco di Neri Sellajo, or Sellari, fl. 1354; sculptured a St. John, St. Peter, an Angel, and a Prophet for the façade.

Marco di Guccio and Luca di Giovanni da Siena, also worked at this period for the Duomo façade.

(MS. Ricordanze dell' Provveditore Stieri, preserved in the Duomo archives at Florence. *Vide* Baldinucci, con aggiunte di Piacenza. Milan, 1811.)

C.

It is said that Margheritone was influenced as a sculptor by Arnolfo del Cambio. As a painter, he continued through life to follow the 'maniera greca,' looking upon Giotto as an innovator of a dangerous sort. N. 1236. M. 1313.

The monument which he raised in the Duomo at Arezzo, to Pope Gregory X. (m. 1276), is quite Pisan in style. There formerly existed in the Duomo at Florence, a Deposition, and other works, carved in wood by this artist.

At Ancona he designed the Governor's palace, the doorway of the Duomo (S. Cyriacus), and some of the ornaments upon its façade.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

A.

Contract for the Bigallo Madonna, made with Alberto Arnoldi, June 13, 1359.

'I Capitani della Misericordia danno commissione a M° Alberto Arnoldi di eseguire in marmo un imagine di Nostra Donna col Figlio in braccio in atto di misericordia,[1] adornata e fregiata d'oro, alla braccia tre, quale dovrà essere di quella bontà e maestria della figura di N. D. di Pisa (ciò è, di quella di Andrea Pisano, maestro di Arnoldo),[2] a tutte spese di detto Alberto, col pagamento di fiorini 150. Similmente gli danno la commissione di due figure d'Angioli con candelieri in mano alti braccia due e mezzo per f. d'oro 130 in due; quali lavori dovrà compire Arnoldo dentro due anni, e si dovranno giudicare de tre maestri nell' arte, da eleggere dagli stessi Capitani. E per la Madonna gli si dovranno anticipati f. 100; e gli altri 50 a fine di lavoro, ornato, fregiato e lustrato; quando sia giudicato lavoro perfetto.'—*Libro Deliberazioni*, A.D. 1366, *filza 2da*, pp. 12, 57, *Archivio del Bigallo.*

B.

Painted Sculpture. Doc. 6, cited by Ciampi, *Not. Ined.*, shows us that four Painters were employed to adorn the monument to Henry VII. now in the Campo Santo at Pisa—gives note of their expenses for varnish, gum, paint, brushes, 'et pro ovis ad colores, pro dipingendo ad dictum laborrerium' (*sic*). Also in *Arch. St. Italiano* (vol. x. p. 282, Nuova Serie) it is recorded that Paolo di Giovanni, Fior., contracted, A.D. 1328, to sculpture a seated Madonna and Child, with SS. John and Nicholas on one side, and SS. Paul and Peter on the other, and agreed to paint the flesh, draperies, and accessories, in accordance with the custom of the time.

C.

Del Agnello, profiting by the distress of the Pisans, who were unable to pay the free companies, which they had hired to fight for them against Florence,

[1] Arnoldi's Madonna is not what is properly called a Madonna della Misericordia, *i.e.* a Madonna crowned or veiled, standing with outstretched arms, holding up her ample robe (which is sometimes also sustained by angels), beneath whose folds kneel worshippers of all ranks and conditions. *Vide* a bas-relief over the entrance to the Scuola della Misericordia at Venice; another at Arezzo over the door of the hospital, &c.

[2] Whether this refers to a group supposed to be by Andrea in the Campo Santo at Pisa, or to the Madonna della Rosa by Nino di Andrea in the Chiesa della Spina, we cannot say.

and backed by Bernabo Visconti, whose lieutenant he claimed to be, undertook to discharge their debts on condition that they would make him Doge for one year. This title he soon changed for that of Lord of Pisa, and being (like most men of low birth who have become rich) addicted to ostentatious display, he dressed himself with the utmost extravagance, rode about Pisa with a whip of gold in his hand, and then stood at a window of his Palace, leaning his elbows upon a cushion fringed with gold, to show himself to the people; 'come fanno le reliquie' says Filippo Villani (vol. ii. lib. ii. p. 767).

After tyrannising over the Pisans for four years, he went to Lucca, in 1368, to attend the triumphal entry of the Emperor Charles IV., and falling from a scaffolding erected for the occasion, broke his thigh; hearing of this accident, his subjects rose *en masse* and rid themselves of a yoke which had long been odious to them.

D.

'The Palace of Azzo Visconti,' says Fiamma, 'had a great tower, several stories in height, containing chambers, halls, and corridors, adorned with paintings, baths, and gardens; and many rooms at its base decorated with paintings of unequalled beauty. There were also nobly ornamented sleeping rooms, with double doors guarded by porters, who allowed no one to enter without special permission. Before the entrance to the first room stood a great wire-netted cage, containing every variety of birds; and near-by several other cages containing lions, bears, monkeys, baboons, and an ostrich. Adjoining the Aviary there was a very large and magnificent Hall, in which there was a painting of Vain-glory, surrounded by Æneas, Attila, Hector, Hercules, Charlemagne, and Azzo Visconti, made of gold and blue enamels put together with unsurpassed perfection. Lastly, two fountains, fed by subterranean canals, impetuously cast their waters by divers mouths into a square fishpond.'—*De Gestis Azzonis*, Giuglini, vol. v. pp. 236, 237.

Some of these paintings must have been by Giotto, who was called to Milan by Azzo Visconti, to paint frescoes in his palace.

E.

Both Gaye and Ricci must be mistaken in saying that the Loggia de' Lanzi was commenced in 1374 or 1376, in which latter year Orcagna, according to the best authorities, was dead. The subjoined mention of the artists who worked with him upon it, extracted by Baldinucci from the

'Libro di Ricordanze del Provveditore Stieri,' and the Libro dell' Opera dell' Duomo,' fixes its commencement at a much earlier date.

Jacopo di Piero, who flourished in 1360, and whose works greatly resemble those of his master Orcagna in style, sculptured four Theological Virtues for the Loggia de' Lanzi, 1367. 'Jacobo Pieri, magistro pro manufactura virtutum cardinalium pro Loggia Dominorum Priorum et Vexiliferi, Flor., 2 sol.'

1384. 'Una cum figura Fidei et alia cum figura Spei proponendo ad Loggiam Priorum, &c. et 10 auri super Angelum quem celat (*sic*) pro Loggia dicta Flor.'—*B.* vol. iv. p. 416, ed. Milano.

A.D. 1367. From the payment of two florins made to Angelo Gaddi for designs for the figures to be placed on the Loggia de' Lanzi (quoted from *Ricordanze del Prov. Stieri*), Baldinucci concludes that Gaddi furnished these designs for Jacopo and others who sculptured them.—*B.* vol. iv. p. 344.

Giovanni Seti, who worked in Giotto's style, Lib. de Delib. A.D. 1367, payed for a 'Fortezza' to be placed over the Loggia della Piazza de Signori, and for a 'Temperantia,' which his advanced age prevented him from terminating.—*Baldinucci e Piacenza*, vol. iv. p. 452.

F.

Sonnet by Orcagna.	Translation by W. W. Story, Esq.
Molti poeti han gia descritto Amore Fanciul nudo coll' arco faretrato, Con una pezza bianca di bucato Avvolta agli occhi, e li ali.	Of Love this portrait many a poet brings, A naked child with quiver and with bow, And a white fillet tied below his brow Across his eyes, and brightly-coloured wings.
Così Omero e così Naso Maggiore E Virgilio, e li altri han ciò mostrato: Ma come tutti quanti abbino errato Mostrarlo intende l' Orgagna pittore.	Thus Homer and thus Ovid of him sings, Virgil and others thus his portrait know; But now Orcagna, painter, means to show How they have erred in their imaginings.
Sed egli è cieco, come fa gli inganni? Sed egli è nudo, chi lo manda a spasso? Se porta l' arco, tirarlo un fanciullo?	If he is blind, his pranks how can he play? If nude, who turns him out and lets him go? The bow he bears, what child could ever pull?
S' egli è si tener, dovè son tanti anni? S' egli è tale, come va si basso? Così le lor ragioni tutte annullo.	If youthful, where are all his years I pray? If old, why is his stature still so low? Thus all their reasonings I with ease annul.
L' Amore è un trastullo: Non è composto di legno nè d'osso, E à molta gente fa rompere il dosso.	Love is a pastime, this at least I know; But he is neither made of wood or bone, And yet he breaks the back of many a one.

Trucchi, *Raccolta di Poesie Italiane*, ii. 24.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

A.

Relief Subjects upon the Tarlati Monument.

1. Bishop Tarlati takes possession of the Archiepiscopal Palace, 1312.
2. Is elected General of the Aretines, 1321.
3. The Commune of Arezzo, symbolised by an old man insulted by many persons, who pull his beard and hair.
4. The Installation of Tarlati. 5. He restores the city walls.
6. Takes the town of Lusignano, 1316.
7. Takes the towns of Rocca di Chiusi; 8. and Fronzola.
9. Receives suppliant prisoners beneath the walls of Focognano.
10. Takes Castello di Rondine, 11. and Buine, in Valdambra, 12. and Caprera.
13 and 14. Destroys the Castles of Laterina and Monte S. Savino.
15. Crowns Louis of Bavaria at Milan, 1327.
16. Dies at the Castle of Montenero in the Maremma.

B.

The Seventh Epistle of Dante is inscribed, 'Sanctissimo Triumphatori et Domino singulari domino Henrico, divina providentia Romanorum Regi, semper augusto, devotissimi sui Dantes Alighierius, Florentinus et exul immeritus, ac universaliter omnes Tusci, qui pacem desiderant terræ, osculantur pedes.'—*Epistola VII.* p. 464, ed. Barbera.

C.

Dante and Cino. Epistola IV. is inscribed, 'Exulanti Pistoriensi exul immeritus, per tempora diuturna salutem et perpetuæ caritatis ardorem.' This letter was written by Dante in answer to Cino's question, whether our nature can pass from passion to passion, 'utrum de passione in passionem possit anima transformari?' With his answer, Dante sent a piece of poetry to Cino (according to De Witte, the canzone 'Voi che intendendo'), and probably spoke to him of that purely intellectual love which inflamed his own breast after the death of Beatrice. That after the death of Selvaggia, Cino loved many other women, and was even fickle and inconstant, is certain from the testimony of his biographers, and from Dante's Fortieth Sonnet:

Io mi credea del tutto esser partito
  Da queste vostre rime, messer Cino;
  Che si conviene omai altro cammino
Alla mia neve, già lunge del lito:
Ma perch' i' ho di voi più volte udito,
  Che pigliar vi lasciate ad ogni uncino,
  Piacemi di prestare un pocolino
A questa penna lo stancato dito.
  Chi s' innamora, siccome voi fate,
  Ed ad ogni piacer si lega e scioglie,
Mostra che amor leggiermente il saetti:
  Se 'l vostro cuor si piega in tante voglie,
  Per Dio vi priego che voi 'l corregiate,
Si che s' accordi i fatti a dolci detti.

Vide *Illustrazione dell' Epistola IV.* p. 342, delle Epistole, ed. Barbera.

D.

Niccola da Bari, n. circa 1414, called dell' Arca, from the Arca di S. Domenico (see *Life of N. Pisano*), and Il Bolognese, because he spent the greater part of his life at Bologna, his father having brought him, when an infant, from his native town, Bari, in the kingdom of Naples. An Entombment in Terra Cotta, which stands in a passage leading from the Church of Sta. Maria della Vite to a street in Bologna, is attributed to him. He was very fond of microscopic work, *e. g.*, a fly, about the size of a grain of millet; a cage, three centimetres high, which contained several birds, &c., &c.; in short, like Callimachus, who frittered away his skill in minute finish, he might have been surnamed Catatexitechnus. See Gherardacci, *Hist. of Bologna*, pp. 3, 568, and *Gualandi*, op. cit. 5th series, p. 29. His manners were rough and unsociable. He shunned society, and cared little for money or the pleasures of the table. In 1469 he began to work upon the Shrine of St. Dominic, which Melloni, *Vita di S. Domenico*, vol. ii. p. 241, says he completed in four years. He is said to be the author of the monument to Annibale Bentivoglio, in S. Giacomo Maggiore, at Bologna. It consists of a coloured equestrian statue in relief.

Niccola dell' Arca died at Bologna A.D. 1494, and was buried in the Church of the Celestini. His last wish was that he could destroy everything he had sculptured in the course of his life.

SIENESE SCULPTORS NOT MENTIONED IN THE TEXT.*

Thirteenth Century.

M° Accursio, sc., fl. 1227.

M° Riccio, arch. e sc., fl. 1229.

M° Ormanno, arch. e sc., fl. 1232-1270.

M° Silvestro, sc., fl. 1232.

M° Lando di Guido, fl. 1232.

M° Paganello di Giovanni, arch. e sc. (father of Ramo), fl. 1235–1291.

M° Uguccione di Andrea, arch. e sc., fl. 1235.

M° Ugolino, pitt. e sc., fl. 1237. (Not identical with the well-known painter, who was born in 1260, m. 1339.)

M° Martino and M° Rosso, fl. 1261.

M° Pietro Buonamico, pitt., arch., e sc., fl. 1246.

M° Arnolfino, arch. e sc., fl. 1240–1256.

M° Tullio and M° Buonfigliolo, arch. e sc., fl. 1246–1286.

M° Bruno, sc., fl. 1260; M° Grazia, sc., and M° Luglo.

} all employed upon the Duomo at Siena.

M° Martino, arch. e sc. (probably father of Simon Memmi).

M° Gherardo, fl. 1278; M° Gherardino della Pietra (alive in 1326).

M° Orlando di Lorenzo, pitt. e sc., fl. 1280.

M° Vannino di Manone, sc., fl. 1280.

M° Ciolo di Ventura, sc., and his son Puccinello, 1296–1302.

M° Bindo di Guido, pitt. e sc., fl. 1284–1319.

M[l] Sozzo d'Ildobrando, sc., fl. 1284; Barto. di San Giovanni, pitt. e sc., fl. 1284–1337.

M[l] Benintende, fl. 1291; Cecco di Ventura, or. e sc., fl. 1284; Alberto, mus. e sc., fl. 1285–1310.

M[l] Tano or Frano della Pietra, mus. e sc., fl. 1285–1309; Maffeo della Pietra, fl. 1286-1318.

M[l] Niccola Nuti, arch., mus., pitt., intag., e sc., fl. 1288–1345; Corso di Domenico, arch. e sc., fl. 1290–1345.

M[l] Lando di Macario, arch. e sc., fl. 1291–1345; Durazzino della Pietra, fl. 1291.

M[l] Cecco di Duccio, sc. e pitt., fl. 1291; Valentino, sc., fl. 1292; Cambio della Pietra, fl. 1292.

M[l] Castellino di Pietro, pitt. e sc.; Mosca di Ventura, sc., fl. 1292; Alemanno della Badia, fl. 1293.

* Extracted from Ettore Romagnuoli's MS. work, *Sugli Artisti Sanesi*, 12 vols., in the Library at Siena.

M[l] Giacomo di Balduccio, fl. 1339; Paolo di Giovanni, Gino di Giovanni, sc. e arch., fl. 1293.

M° Giacomo Vanni d' Ugone, detto dell' Acqua, arch., sc., ed id., fl. 1298–1348.

Fourteenth Century.

M[l] Nalduccio Dino, pitt. e sc., fl. 1307; Ciolo di Neri, sc., fl. 1310; Accorsino di Meo, fl. 1316–1337.

M[l] Mino d' Aldobrandino, arch. e sc., fl. 1316–1339; Rosso di Graziano, arch. e sc., fl. 1318–1338.

M[l] Ventura di Grazino, sc., fl. 1318–1348; Vannino di Pietro, fl. 1327–1345.

M[l] Pietro Ciaccari, sc., fl. 1318–1327; Micheluccio di Fuccio, sc. e pitt., fl. 1318–1341.

M[l] Guccio della Pietra, fl. 1318–1338; Neri di Giunta, fl. 1318.

M[l] Bindo di Pare, arch., sc., ed or., fl. 1332–1359; Giovanni Ciaccari, sc. fl. 1319–1325.

M[l] Viva di Lando, ingeg. e sc., fl. 1320–1339, and his sons Vannuccio, Orlando and Pace.

M[l] Toro di Mino, sc., fl. 1337; Cino di Compagno, fl. 1323; Donato di Mino, fl. 1323–1326.

M[l] Bettino, or. e sc., fl. 1324–1361; Antonio dell' Uopera, sc. ed arch., fl. 1324–1332.

M[l] Andrea di Giovanni, arch. e sc., 1325–1368; Cristiano di Lando di Maccerio, fl. 1325–1330.

M[l] Angeluccio, pitt. e sc., 1325–1345; Menzo di Rinaldo del Brilla, arch., sc., e pitt., fl. 1325–1363.

M[l] Ceffo di Ventura, sc. ed arch., fl. 1326; Moccio di Bindo della Torre, arch. e sc., fl. 1326–1369.

M[l] Paolo d' Andrea, pitt. e sc., fl. 1327–1355; Cecco del Maitani, or., pitt., sc., mus., fl. 1330–1343.

M[l] Lando di Viduccio, pitt. e sc., fl. 1347–1378; Bartolo di Tolfo, or. e sc., fl. 1331–1374.

M[l] Paolo di Lando, arch. e sc., fl. 1332–1378; Ambrogio di Tura, fl. 1333–1346.

M[l] Jacomo di Pietro, intag., pitt., e sc., fl. 1334–1380; Nello di Betto, or., pitt., e sc., fl. 1336–1402.

M[l] Domenico di Vanni di Carlo, pitt. e sc., fl. 1337–1369; Giovanni di Paolo, sc., fl. 1337–1374.

M[l] Grazino di Boncorso, sc., and Stefano di Meo, fl. 1339–1374; Andrea di Cino, pitt. e sc., fl. 1339–1410.

M[1] Ambrogio di Meo, sc. ed intag., fl. 1337–1340; Novello di Giovanni, sc., fl. 1340.

M[1] Agostino di Giovanni, pitt., sc., ed arch., fl. 1339–1342; Angelo di Nalduccio Mazzetti, fl. 1343–1412.

Of the same family, Fede and Teio, fl. 1337; Duino and Sano, fl. 1394, and Giacomo, fl. 1377–1412.

M[1] Nalluzzo di Nuzzo, sc., fl. 1345–1353; Simon Accolti, sc., fl. 1345; Francesco di Neri, sc. e pitt., fl. 1348–1426.

M[1] Mannaino di Guccio, fl. 1352-1361; Guidozzo di Niccola Nuti, sc., fl. 1349.

M[1] Ghinuccio di Giacomo, sc., fl. 1350–1359; Matteo di Ugolino, fl. 1353.

M[1] Pietro di fra Vanni, sc., fl. 1400; Gherardo di Bindo, fl. 1354–1380.

M[1] Giovanni di Viva di Guccio, sc. ed or., fl. 1357–1368; Andrea di Lando Balbi, sc. e pitt., fl. 1372.

M[1] Ambrogio di Ghino, sc., fl. 1358–1390; Biagio di Goro, pitt., arch., e sc., fl. 1368–1433.

M[1] Niccolò di Meo, sc., fl. 1363–1370; Ant. di Duccio, sc. e pitt., 1363–1394.

M[1] Francesco di Antonio, sc. ed arch., fl. 1367-1406; Luca di Cecco, sc., fl. 1363-1429.

M[1] Michele di Nello, sc., fl. 1363–1429; Jacomo di Brunazzuolo, sc., fl. 1363-1380.

M[1] Barto. di Lotto, sc., 1369-1425; Mino di Turino, and his son Mino, fl. 1375-1381.

M[1] Grazia di Maffeo, sc., 1356-1378; Niccolo di Nanni, sc., pitt., ed or., fl. 1362-1402.

M[1] Giacomo di Vanni di Bianco, sc., fl. 1363-1397; Nanni di Cecco, sc., fl. 1363-1403.

M[1] Agostino di Martino di Viviano, sc., fl. 1362–1371; Ambrogio di Vanni, sc., fl. 1363–1393.

M[1] Francesco di Giunta, arch. e sc., fl. 1363–1415; Paolo d' Antonio, sc., fl. 1367, and his son.

M[1] Antonio di Paolo, fl. 1420; Lorenzo di Bartolo Battifori, pitt. e sc., fl. 1367.

M[1] Gio di Stefano, sc. ed arch., fl. 1368-1374; Amerigo di Gherardo, sc., fl. 1369-1373.

M[1] Angelo d' Andrea, pitt. e sc., fl. 1376; Martino di Simone, fl. 1388.

M[1] Simone di Giovannetto, pitt., sc., ed arch., fl. 1380–1428; Domenico di Niccola, intag. ed arch., fl. 1382 1429.

M[1] Beccano, sc. ed arch., fl. 1315-1385; Giovanni di Giacomo dell' Acqua, sc., pitt., ed arch., fl. 1382–1422.

M[1] Guido di Andrea del Bizzone, sc., fl. 1389–1423; Sano di Martino, pitt. e sc., fl. 1374–1410.

Fifteenth Century.

M[1] Gregorio da Siena, fl. 1410; Giovanni di Giovanni da Cuna, pitt. e sc., fl. 1402–1471.

M[1] Valentino di Paolo, sc., fl. 1403; Matteo di Nobile, sc., fl. 1403; Domenico di Sano, sc., fl. 1410.

M[1] Sano di Matteo, sc. (sch. Quercia), fl. 1404-1423; Nanni da Siena (sch. Quercia), sc., fl. 1404–1413.

M[1] Agostino di Niccolò, sc., fl. 1404–1457; Cristofano di Binduccio, pitt. e sc., fl. 1407–1477.

M[1] Lorenzo di Filippo, sc. ed arch., 1407–1448; Cristofano di Francesco, sc. ed arch., fl. 1407-1444.

M[1] Giacomo, fl. 1409; Niccolo di Giovanni di Ventura, min. e sc., fl. 1410–1428.

M[1] Ant. di Paolo di Vescorado, detto Butinterra, arch. e sc., fl. 1410-1441.

M[1] Nanni di Pietro de Sabatelli, pitt. e sc., fl. 1411–1488; Pietro di Bartolo, arch. e sc., fl. 1414–1472.

M[1] Bart. di Francesco del Guasta, arch. e sc., fl. 1428–1460; Giovanni di Bartolo, or. e sc., fl. 1363–1421.

M[1] Giovanni di Agostino, sc., m. 1456; Giovanni di Cristofano di Magio, pitt. e sc., fl. 1425–1463.

M[1] Cristofano di Nanni da Monteroni, sc., fl. 1425–1476; Ant. di Gio. Giovanelli, pitt. e sc., fl. 1441-1447.

M[1] Luca di Domenico, sc., fl. 1429–1450; Cristofano di Pietro Paolo, sc., fl. 1431-1470.

M[1] Ant. di Giacomo, sc., fl. 1442–1512; Pietro di Meo di Neri del Toro, sc., fl. 1443–1456.

M[1] Giovanni di Meuzzo di Piero, arch. e sc., fl. 1444; Stefano di Francesco, sc., fl. 1447.

M[1] Gaspare d' Agostino, pitt. e sc., fl. 1449; Pasquino di Francesco di Pepo, sc., fl. 1450.

M[1] Francesco di Stefano, sc., fl. 1450; Giovanni di Stefano Sassetti, pitt. e sc., fl. 1452-1504.

M[1] Francesco di Duccio del Guasta, sc. ed arch., fl. 1458; Francesco di Turino del Guasti, n. 1433.

M[1] Antonio, n. 1440; Guiduccio d' Andrea, sc., fl. 1454; Domenico di Michele, sc., fl. 1456.

M[l] Matteo di Domenico, sc., fl. 1502; Vito di Marco, sc., fl. 1456–1492; Polinante, sc., fl. 1456.

M[l] Neroccio di Bart. di Landini, pitt. e sc., fl. 1476–1503; Giovanni delle Bombarde, sc., fl. 1462–1480.

M[l] Giuliano di Biagio, sc., fl. 1468–1502; Bart. di Dom. da Calabrone, sc., fl. 1472–1522.

M[l] Bastiano di Francesco, sc. e pitt., fl. 1745; Paolo di Giovanni Manucci, or. pitt. e sc., n. 1453, m. 1513.

M[l] Mariano di Gio, pitt. e sc., fl. 1481; di Giacomo, 1488; di Pietro.

M[l] Nanni di Pietro di Nanni, sc., fl. 1481; Francesco di Niccolo di Gio, sc., fl. 1481–1533.

M[l] del Minella are three in number: Pietro, the most famous; Antonio, and Giovanni.

M[l] Calisto di Paolo, sc., fl. 1484–1507; Francesco di Castoro di Nanni, or. e sc., fl. 1498–1529 (vide *Cellini Vita*, p. 15). He had three sons, two of whom, Lattanzio and Bernardino, were goldsmiths; Pietro di Gio, pitt. e sc., fl. 1494–1533; Cino di Giovanni, m. 1533.

M[o] Andrea Galetti, m. 1530.

Sixteenth Century.

M[l] Crescenzio di Mario, sc., fl. 1504; Giacomo di Giovanni.

M[o] Pellegrino di Pietro di Giacomo, fl. 1520.

M[o] Giacomo di Pietro Gallo, sc., fl. 1523–1531.

M[l] Giovanni Batt. di Giacomo, sc., 1527–1563; and his son Benedetto, fl. 1589.

M[l] Bart. di Pietro Gallo, sc., fl. 1529; Giov. Ant. Massinelli, sc., fl. 1529; and his son, Ant. Maria, fl. 1533–1582. At this time (1530) fl. Bernardino di Giacomo, Bart. di Pietro Gallo, and Pellegrino di Pietro.

M[l] Francesco di Filippo del Peruzzi, sc., fl. 1534–1557; Salvatore di Toto, sc., fl. 1534.

M[l] Ascanio di Mo. Lorenzo, fl. 1538; Luca da Siena, sc., 1538–1544.

M[o] Matteo di Mariano di Francesco, pitt. e sc., fl. 1546–1579.

M[o] Ant. di Giorgio, sc. e pitt., fl. 1558–1576.

M[l] Giovanni Berti, sc., fl. 1564; Girolamo del Turco, sc., fl. 1568–1582, and of same name, Bernardino, fl. 1541; Girolamo, 1579; Flaminio, 1600.

M[l] Giacomo di Domenico, sc., fl. 1570; Domenico, fl. 1573–1591.

M[o] Gabriele di Pietro detto il Bruccia, sc., fl. 1576–1634.

M[l] Fulvio d' Ant. Signorini, sc. e br., n. 1563, m. 1609; Ant., his father, fl. 1573.

M[o] Domenico Cristellini, sc., 1564–1634.

M[o] Camillo di Mariano Mariani, pitt. sc., ed arch., fl. 1564–1611.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

A.

Account given by Erasmus of a Sermon preached before Pope Julius II.

He says, 'Some days before, I was invited by the learned to be present when it was delivered . . . . The peroration, which was almost as long as the oration, was taken up with the praises of Julius II., whom the speaker called Jovem Opt. Max. qui dextra omnipotente tenens ac vibrans trifurcum et inevitabile fulmen, solo nutu faceret quicquid vellet. . . . . The design of the oration was first to set forth the mournful death of Christ, and then, in sounding periods, to depict him glorious and triumphant. Commemorabat Decius et Quintus Curtius qui se pro salute Reipub. diis manibus devovissent. Item Cecropium, Menœcium, Iphigeniam, et aliis aliquot, quibus patriæ salus ac dignitas ipsa vita fuisset charior. Deplorabat ante valde lugubriter, quod fortibus viris qui suis periculis Reipublicæ subvenissent, publicis decretis relata esset gratia, aliis in foro posita statua aurea, aliis decretis honoribus divinis: Christum pro suis benefactis, ab ingrata Judæorum gente prœmia loco tulisse crucem, dira passum, summaque affectum ignominia. Atque ita nobis bonum illum et innocentem virum, deque gente sua optime meritum, reddebat miserandum; quasi Socratis aut Phocionis mortem deplorasset, qui quum nihil admisissent sceleris, civium suorum ingratitudine coacti sunt cicutam bibere . . . . . Cæterum de arcano supremi numinis consilio, quod hac inaudita ratione voluit genus humanum a diaboli tyrannide redimere per mortem unici Filii, tum de mysteriis, quid sit commori Christo, quid sit cum illo sepeliri, quid cum illo resurgere, nulla mentio.'—*Dialogus Ciceronianus*, pp. 87-91. 12mo, Leyden.

B.

This saint is called Eloy or Alo, in Latin, Eligius, *i.e.* chosen. See *Curiosités de l'Histoire des Arts*, par Jacob, bibliophile, pp. 193, 217, 219. Baldinucci, vol. i. p. 426, attributes this statue to Nanni di Banco, as does a note-book belonging to the Gaddi family, entitled *Fragments of the Lives of the Painters*. Vasari, vol. iii. p. 57, speaks doubtfully, and it is not mentioned in a MS. list of Nanni's works, preserved in the Strozzi Library. St. Eloy, who was born A.D. 588, and died A.D. 659, was first a goldsmith, and then, without giving up his art, for the promotion of which he founded a Conventual Academy at Solignac, became a preacher. The

miracle, which is represented in relief, below his statue at Or San Michele, is thus related. One day, Satan, who persecuted him under various disguises, entered into a horse, which had been brought to the blacksmith to be shod, and caused him to kick and plunge so violently, that the bystanders fled in dismay. Seeing this, St. Eloy cut off the horse's leg, hammered on the shoe, and then, after making the sign of the cross, replaced it, sound as before.

In the twelfth century, three Latin hymns to be sung at matins and lauds on the Saint's two fête days (one of which commemorated the translation of his body to the Cathedral of Noyon, A.D. 1157), were written. One of these we give below, with a literal translation:

De fabri ministerio	From the rank of a workman
Assumptus in pontificem,	Raised to be a priest,
Pastoris in officio	In the office of a shepherd
Renovavit aurificem.	He purified the goldsmith.
Verbo potens in opere	Strong in word and deed
Christi servire nomini,	To serve the name of Christ,
Novo vasorum genere	With a new kind of vase
Exornat templum Domini.	He adorned the temple of the Lord.
Manum misit ad malleum	He put his hand to the hammer
Verbum exemplis astruens,	That he might exemplify his doctrine,
Sic vas format idoneum	Thus he formed a fitting vase,
Verbum vitâ non destruens.	Nor contradicted his teachings by his life.
Malleus verbi ratio,	His hammer is doctrinal authority,
Fumax zeli constantia,	His furnace constant zeal,
Follis est respiratio,	His bellows inspiration,
Incus obedientia.	His anvil obedience.
Sic faber in pontificem,	Thus the craftsman was changed into a priest,
In montem crevit atomus;	An atom grew into a mountain;
Lemovices aurificem,	Limoges boasts of her goldsmith,
Patrem jactat Noviomus.	Noyon of her father.

In the sixteenth century, Sebastian Rouillard wrote a French hymn, of which we give two verses:

1.	2.
O Sainct Eloy, prelat insigne,	Sous Dagobert[1] fut ta naissance,
Pour te chanter un los condigne	Ton premier art eu la puissance
Aux merites de tes vertus:	Sur les plus riches des metaux:
Toi dont l' Eglise a tant de gages,	Apres tes chasses et tes lames,
Et qui admire tes ouvrages	Tu vins regner sur les âmes
D'or et de perles revestus.	Des plus nobles des animaux.

[1] St. Eloy made a golden chair for King Dagobert, supposed to be that preserved in the Louvre, which has been regarded as such since the twelfth century.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

A.

Opening of the Tomb of Isotta de Rimini, and of other Tombs at S. Francesco di Rimini.[1]

'Il Padre Baccelliere Fran. Righini Imolese, Procuratore e Consiglio di questo Convento de PP. Conventuali di S. Francisco, sentendo che da alcuni veniva asserito per proprio capriccio che ne' sepolcri che sono al di fuori e al di dentro della sua chiesa spettanti alla cosa de' Sigg. Malatesti, non vi fossero i rispettivi cadaveri; quindi è che invogliandosi di sincerarsi del vero sopra tal effeto, raunò alcuni galantuomini suoi amici, fra i quali vi fu anch' io: uomini quantunque di mente non superiore all' umana, tuttavia erano uomini di bastante giudizio per distinguere i morti dai vivi, e per distinguere i cadaveri dagli scheletti. Erano ancora uomini onesti, per non imposturare sul fatto. La notte per tanto del 15 Agosto venendo verso i 16 dell' anno scorso 1756, ci portammo ai monumenti che sono al di fuori della mentovata chiesa nella facciata laterale del Tempio, e coll' opera di alcuni fabbri murari, s' aprì il primo monumento di Basinio, poi il 2do di Giusto de' Conti, &c., &c. Il giorno 16 dopo il desinare, e non di notte come supponsi, si venne all' apertura del sepolcro d' Isotta, il quale s' aprì della parte dei piedi alla presenza degli altri sette mentovati. Si scostò il marmo dell' arca, che era della parte dei piedi, quantunque potersi sufficentemente coll' occhio ravvisare la positura del cadavere. Questo si vide tutto coperto di fradiciume, e tutto sciolto nelle giunture, ma tutto in sito, onde non resto persuaso che possa essere stato smosso in altro tempo, perchè tutto l' andamento del corpo è in un sito troppo aggiustato per autenticare la sua prima positura, conforme anche può vedersi al presente, non essendo stato toccato veruno. E intanto tutto quel fradiciume ricuopriva il cadavere, perchè uno dei pezzi dell' arca era scostato dagli altri per essersi rotto un legamento di ferro, onde l' arca ha potuto coadjuvare alla putrefazione del cadavere e delle vesti.' Upon this follows the description of the opening of Sigismund's tomb, and the account ends with the statement that this examination has been recorded in the City Register by the Public Notary of Rimini, Sig. Francisco Antonio Masi.

B.

When was the modern system of making plaster casts first employed? Was it understood by the ancients, as stated by certain authors?[2] After a

[1] *Novelle Letterarie di Firenze*, A.D. 1757, vol. xviii. col. 262.

[2] Müller's *Ancient Art and its Remains* (Welcker's ed. of *Leitch's Eng. Tr.* p. 345, London,

careful examination of the passages generally quoted from Greek and Roman writers in support of the affirmative, I am strongly inclined to believe that they did not, as these passages refer to the custom of making statues (generally for temporary purposes) out of gypsum,[1] and of taking likenesses by means of moulds made of plaster upon the face and corrected with wax, which were added to statues modelled in plaster as we now model in clay. The passages referred to are the following: at p. 401, *Lib. de lapidibus*, Theophrastus, after speaking of gypsum, its origin, &c., says, '*διαφέρην δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀπομάγματα πολὺ τῶν ἀλλῶν.*' The word *ἀπομάγματα* does not mean casts, but is here used as the same author uses *ἄγαλμα*[2] (p. 398), in the sense of the Latin word *simulacrum*.

Another passage cited in favour of the practice by the ancients of this art, is given by Lobeck (*Aglaoph.* p. 571) from Trimicus, probably out of his work, '*De Errore Profanum Religionum*,' written before A.D. 350, as he dedicated it to the Emperor Constans, who was slain in that year. It relates to the infant Bacchus, destroyed by the Titans at the instigation of his stepmother Juno. 'Et quia dolor ex orbitate veniens nullis solatiis mitigabatur, imaginem ejus ex gypso plastico[3] opere perfecit, et cor, ex quo facinus sorore deferente detectum, in ea parte plastæ collocant, qua pectoris fuerant lineamenta formata.' This clearly proves nothing concerning the art of casting.

The next passage cited equally fails in establishing the proposition. It is from the *Ζεὺς Τραγῳδός* (Jupiter Tragœdus) of Lucian (p. 484, par. 33,

1852): 'Gypsum was much used for taking casts' (*πρὸς ἀπομάγματα*).' Ampère, *Hist. Romaine à Rome*, vol. iv. pp. 86, 87: 'Les Romains avait appris des Grecs l'art de mouler en plâtre les statues.'

[1] Spartiani Severus, xxii.: 'Die Circensium, quum tres Victoriæ more solito essent locatæ gypseæ cum palmis.' Pausanias, lib. i. cap. 40, in speaking of the Zeus of Megara, whose completion was interrupted by the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, says: 'Ipsius quidem Jovis os aure et ebore constat: reliquum vero corpus e gypso et fictile est materia;' and, lib. viii. c. 22, in speaking of some ancestral images placed in sepulchral chambers situated below a temple of Diana in the district of Stymphalis, says: 'ligneæne illæ an gypseæ sint, non est facile internoscere;' and, lib. ix. ch. 32: 'In privati hominis ædibus est Bacchi signum (*ἄγαλμα*) e gypso, pictura illuminatum.' So also Juvenal, sat. ii. 4:—

> 'Indocti primum: quanquam plenia omnia gypso
> Chrysippi invenias.'

[2] *Ἄγαλμα*, statue, image; *ἀγαλματοποιός*, a sculptor. In vol. i. of *Th. Gr. Ling.* (Didot), *ἄγαλμα*, apud Homeri posteros, simulacrum, statua, et (teste Pausanias) non tantum e marmore, sed etiam et primis quidem temporibus, ex argilla, e terra cocta, e gypso,' &c.

[3] *Th. Gr. Ling.* (Didot), '*Γυψοπλασία*, figmenta ex gypso; *γυψεμπλαστὴς*, qui gypso inducit.' Ampère refers to *Auct. Lexic. Græc.* (ed. Fr. Osann., Darmstadt, 1824) p. 188, where we read, *γυψοπλασία*, Anastatius Sinaika MS. Wolfio ad Casauboniana, p. 304, laudatus. P. 48, do. *γυψεμπλαστικός*, vide quæ de *τέχνη γυψεμπλαστικῇ* disseruit Salmatius, Exercit. Plin. p. 771. This being referred to (*Pliniana Emend.* p. 1095, c.), gives us '*γυψεμπλαστίχην τέχνην* vocat, qua laminæ vitreæ, sive sint veteræ, sive orbes invicem gypso committebuntur. Hodie plumbo committuntur.' From these definitions we see that *γυψοπλασία* does not mean the art of making casts in plaster, but statues, or, if taken with a preceding passage, plates of gypsum, to serve as window-panes.

ed. Firmin Didot), and refers to a practice of taking impressions from bronze with pitch. Jupiter being in great distress at the neglect into which the worship of the Gods had fallen, calls them together in council. They come as statues, and Mercury finds no little difficulty in seating them according to precedence, not only on account of the size of some, as for instance the Colossus of Rhodes, but also from the difference in value of the materials of which they are made. Among others, the Mercury of the Agora (a statue erected in the public square at Athens), approaches, and Jupiter, addressing his master of ceremonies says: 'Sed quis est ille cum festinatione accedens, ille æneus, ille lineamentis omnibus circumcira pulchre et ad amussim factus, ille prisco more revinctus comam?—Quin tuus frater est, Mercuri, forensis ille, juxta Pœcilen: pice etiam oppletus est, qui quotidie exprimatur a statuariis,' &c.

Hermagoras (the statue thus spoken of) thus speaks:

> Statuariis pro more præbebam modo,
> Pice oblinendum pectus atque tergora;
> Tenax lorica corpori, risum movens,
> Afflicta jam pendebat arte simia,
> Signum velut totius æris exprimens.

The last passage which we have to examine, and which has especially served to establish the knowledge by the Greeks and Romans of this art, is from Pliny, lib. xxxv. c. 12. It runs as follows:—'Hominis autem imaginem gypso e facie ipsa primus omnium expressit, ceraque in eam formam gypsi infusa emendare instituit, Lysistratus Sicyonis frater Lysippi, de quo diximus. Hic et similitudinem reddere instituit, ante eum quam pulcherrimum facere studebat. Idem et de signis effigiem exprimere invenit. Crevitque res in tantum, ut nulla signa statuæve sine argilla fierent. Quo apparet antiquiorem hanc fuisse scientiam quam fundendi æris.'

From this somewhat confused statement, we gather that Lysistratus first took impressions of the face in plaster, which impressions he amended with wax, and that he thus obtained faithful portraits instead of embellished likenesses.

At first sight, the succeeding clause would seem to state that Lysistratus invented the process of casting statues in plaster; but taking it in connection with the next sentence, in which it is stated that no statues were afterwards made without clay, that is, without going through a previous process of making a model in clay, we must conclude that he has confounded the processes of taking a perfect likeness by means of plaster spread on the face, and that of modelling statues in clay, before putting

them into bronze or marble; otherwise, he would have used the word 'gypsum,' which alone could serve for such a purpose, and not 'argilla.' A further proof of this is furnished in the final sentence, in which he says that the knowledge of it is older than that of casting in bronze, which is true, if applied to modelling in clay; but if applied to casting in plaster, is a manifest contradiction of Pliny's previous statement that that was invented by Lysistratus.

The ancients, as we know, used gypsum as well as clay for modelling, though less commonly, and also made statues in both, as we have shown by passages from their writings; but we can find none which establish the assertion, that they knew how to make plaster casts of statues as is done in our own time.

A letter written by the eminent Italian writer upon art, Sig. Michelangelo Gualandi, gives the opinion of Canova upon this point, as obtained by him from one of Canova's pupils. 'The celebrated Canova, he writes, who made the most minute researches upon this, as upon every other point of artistic interest, became convinced that the Phenician, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman sculptors made highly finished sketches, and then, by means of the compass of proportion [1] (an instrument not unknown to them), marked out the marble as it was to be chiselled, with points. Traces of such points may be seen upon the chin, elbow, and other parts of the colossal statues on Monte Cavallo. Michelangelo often used the same process.'

In modern times, I have been unable to find any certain mention of plaster casts until the sixteenth century.

In the fifteenth, we learn through Vasari (vol. v. p. 151), that 'Andrea Verocchio took great pleasure in modelling in a sort of plaster, made of a soft stone quarried at Volterra, Siena, and in other parts of Italy, which being burnt in the fire, and then broken up and kneaded, becomes so tender that it can be moulded into any shape, after which it hardens, so that whole figures can be cast in it. (*In modo che si puo dentro gettar figure intere.*) Andrea was accustomed to form hands, feet, &c., in moulds thus made, which he used for purposes of study. Afterwards, in his time, people began to make moulds upon the heads of those who died, at a small expense,[2] which explains the infinite number of such portraits upon the

[1] 'L'invention du trépan, dont la sculpture romaine a tant abusé, date au moins de Callimaque, que les anciens regardaient comme l'inventeur de cet instrument. Selon Unguer, il remonterait encore plus haut et aurait été employé avant Phidias dans les sculpture d'Egine (*Müll. Arch.* p. 430). L'usage des points n'était probablement pas inconnu aux Grecs, car il était certainement connu des Romains. On les a remarqués sur une tête d'Alcibiade qui est au Louvre, sur les colosses de Monte Cavallo, et sur le Discobole (*Müll. Arch.* p. 431).'—Ampère, *L' Hist. Romaine à Rome*, vol. iv. p. 86.

[2] 'Andrea fu de' primi, ma non il primo, giacchè l'uso di formare i volti dei cadaveri pare che fosse piu antico.' That of Brunelleschi, in the Opera del Duomo, was made when Verocchi was fourteen years old.—Vasari, vol. v. p. 152, nota 2.

chimney-pieces, doors, windows, and cornices, of every house in Florence, so well made and natural, that they appear living.'

Vasari does indeed state here, that entire figures can be cast in the plaster used by Verocchio, though he does not say that Verocchio did so
A.D. 1488. use it, but that he applied it to the casting of hands, feet, &c. From the fact that on his return to Venice, he put together the fragments of the model of the horse for the equestrian statue of Bartolomeo Coleoni,
A.D. 1479. which he had long before destroyed, it is clear that it was made of plaster, and not of clay. Lionardo da Vinci, also, must have made his model for the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza of the same materials, as it was set up as a target for the soldiers of Louis XII. long after its completion.

It is not until the middle of the sixteenth century that we find in the '*Comptes des Bâtiments royaux de France*,' so clear a statement about the matter, that we cannot doubt its meaning, and must conclude that plaster casts were then made in France. The passage records a payment made to 'Jean le Roux, dit Picart, imager, pour avoir vacqué à jetter en plastre la figure d'un grand cheval sur les mousles, *qui sont aussy de plastre*, qui ont été apportés de Rome audit Fontainebleau, et à jetter aussy en plastre, sur autres mousles, aussy apportés de Rome à Fontainebleau, une grande figure de N. D. de Pitié, dedans la haute chapelle du donjon dudit château.' (Quoted in M. H. de Jouy's article, entitled '*Les Fontes du Primatice*,' at p. 11).

The horse mentioned in this passage (called in accounts of the time 'Le Grand Cheval,' or 'Le Cheval Blanc,' because it was made of plaster), was a cast of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which Catherine de Medicis set up in the courtyard of the Palace at Fontainebleau (thenceforward called Le Cour du Cheval Blanc), under a roof raised upon four pillars, to protect it from the rain, where it remained until the year 1626.

The figure of N. D. de Pitié was the Pietà of Michelangelo. The moulds of both these works of art were made for Francis I., who, in the year 1540, sent Primaticcio to Rome, to purchase antique marbles. At the same time, says Vasari (vol. xiii. p. 3), he (Primaticcio), caused Jacopo Barozzi da Vignuola, and others, to make moulds[1] of the statue of Marcus Aurelius, of a part of the Column (of Trajan), and of the statues of Commodus, Venus, the Laocoon, the Tiber, the Nile, and the Cleopatra (Ariadne), that they might be cast in bronze. This was accomplished three years later (1543), by four French artists, viz., Francisque Rybon, Pierre Beauchesne, Benoist le Bouchet, and Guillaume Durant (see

[1] The word used is 'formare,' often applied by sculptors to the process of making the mould in which figures were to be cast.—Cellini, *Vita*, p. 354, nota 2.

La Renaissance des Arts, par M. le Comte de la Borde, vol. i. pp. 424, 427, 430), in the foundry at Fontainebleau; and *Les Comptes des Bâtiments* (says M. de Jouy, p. 20), which prove this fact, mention also payments made to Pierre Bontemps, image maker, for the models in wax, &c., for casting.

Five of the ten bronzes cast for Francis I. still exist in the Tuileries gardens, viz., the Laocoon, the Ariadne, the Apollo, the Venus, and the Commodus.

C.

The artistical gastronomy which found favour with the members of Rustici's club (Del Paiuolo), may be judged of by the following description of a dish, with which Andrea del Sarto adorned the supper-table one evening.

'It consisted of an octagonal temple with sausage columns, whose capitals and bases were made of Parmesan cheese. The cornices were of sugar, the tribune of a cake called marzapane, and the pavement of small pieces of coloured galantine, arranged like mosaic. In the centre stood a little music-stand, upon which lay a choir-book, with notes and letters formed of pepper grains. Around it stood a row of open-mouthed thrushes, clad in coats made of pork, behind whom were ranged six ortolans, with divers instruments, and two larger birds with double basses.'—Vasari, vol. xii. p. 10.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

A.

Dello Delli, Florentine Sculptor and Painter, n. circa 1404.

He was the son of Niccolò Delli, 'farsettajo,' and his wife, Madonna Orsa. Vasari says he was sculptor as well as painter, and cites in proof, the bas-relief over the door of S. Egidio, which, as mentioned in the text, we now know to be by Bicci di Lorenzo.

When Dello was about twenty years old, his father surrendered the castle of Montecerro, in the Tuscan Romagna, of which he was keeper, to the soldiers of Filippo Maria Visconti, for which offence a price was set upon his head; and, being obliged to fly the Florentine territory, he took refuge at Siena, where he lived for some time with his sons, Dello and Sansone, the former of whom, in the year 1425, made a figure of brass,

called by the Sienese 'Il Mangia,' which was placed on the top of the tower of the Palazzo Pubblico to strike the hours. Two years later (1427) the father and son removed to Venice, whence, after a residence of five years, Dello and Sansone went to Spain, and established themselves at Seville.

That they resided there for a long time is proved by the 'Portata al Catasto' made by their mother in 1442, in which she says that for fourteen years she has had no news of her son, Sansone, who dwelt at Seville. Dello meanwhile enjoyed the patronage of the Kings of Aragon and Castile, who raised him to the rank of Cavalière in recompense for his services as painter and sculptor, and greatly enriched him. Wishing to obtain the confirmation of his title at the hands of the Florentine Republic, Dello returned to Florence; but his wish was not gratified until the King of Spain had written to the Signory a letter, in which he warmly recommended him as worthy of the honour. On the 27th of June, 1446, he obtained the insignia of Liberty and of the People, after which he painted some frescoes in the cloister of Sta. Maria Novella, and in 1448 again returned to Spain. That he was still alive there in 1466 is proved by Filarete's mention of him in the Sixth Book of his *Treatise on Architecture*, which was written between 1464 and 1466.

B.

Catalogue of Works executed in glazed Terra Cotta by Members of the Robbia Family.[1]

City	Church, Museum, or Street.	Subject	Author
Florence	Via Tedesca	Madonna enthroned with Saints in a tabernacle	Luca II.
,,	Sta. Croce	A Tabernacle. Two monks in bas-relief. A Lunette, and Altar-piece	Uncertain
,,	Sti. Apostoli	A Tabernacle, with Angels and Putti	,,
,,	Badia	A Lunette, Madonna and Child with Angels	,,
,,	Ognissanti	Incoronation of the Virgin	,,
,,	Via della Scala, Monasterio di Ripoli	Madonna and Child with SS. James and Domenick. The Baptism of our Lord. Noli me tangere	,,
,,	Oratory of S. T. Aquinas, House of the Chaplain	A Madonna and Child	,,
,,	Sta. Lucia de Magnoli	Sta. Lucia and two Angels	,,
,,	Cortile di Casa Mozzi	Four flying Angels. Fifteen heads of Seraphim. Four sleeping Guards. Roundel, with Nativity and Adoration	,,

[1] Compiled from Vasari and his Commentators; *Les Della Robbia* de M. Jouy; Catalogue du Louvre; Catalogue du Musée Napoléon III; and the Illustrated Catalogue of Museum at South Kensington.

City	Church, Museum, or Street	Subject	Author
Florence	Academy of Fine Arts	The Madonna and Child with Saints; the Resurrection; the Assumption; and a Bishop; various other bas-reliefs around the Cortile. Forty-eight heads of Saints, Evangelists, Prophets, and Kings	Uncertain
,,	Casa Sorbi in Borgo S. Jacopo	Annunciation and Angels	,,
,,	Misericordia	Altar-piece, with Madonna and Child, Saints, &c., with three bas-reliefs in the gradino	,,
,,	Sta. Maria Novella	A Lavamano in the Sacristy	Luca I.
,,	St. Mark	Virgin in adoration	,,
,,	Duomo	The Resurrection and Ascension, A.D. 1446	,,
,,	S. Pierino	Virgin and Child with Angels	Uncertain
,,	S. Miniato	Ceiling of Chapel which contains the Monument of Cardinal Portogallo	Luca I.
,,	Cloister of Sta. Croce	A Christ holding his Cross	Uncertain
,,	Or S. Michele	Three Medallions outside the Church	Luca I.
,,	Uffizi	Madonna and Child	Uncertain
,,	Loggia di S. Paolo	Nine Medallions and two half do. (1451–1495)	Andrea
,,	,,	A Lunette, Meeting of SS. Francis and Domenick	,,
,,	Innocenti Hospital	Fourteen Medallions outside; an Annunciation in Cortile	Uncertain
,,	Or S. Michele	A Medallion on south façade	Andrea
,,	S. Girolamo	Altar-piece, the Nativity. Gradino, with two bas-reliefs, 1521	Giovanni
,,	S. Onofrio, Via Faenza	Noli me tangere	Uncertain
,,	S. Barnabas	Virgin and Child	,,
,,	S. Simone	A little monument supported on a console: Angel's heads, flowers, &c, 1563	,,
,,	Badia	Virgin and Child with Angels	Benedetto Baglioni
,,	Opera del Duomo	Lunette, Padre Eterno with Angels, painted on a flat surface in enamel colours	Luca?
,,	S. Francesco e Paolo	Painted tiles about the tomb of Bishop Federighi, 1456	Luca I.
Fiesole	Oratory of the Seminary	Virgin and Child with Saints, 1520	Uncertain
,,	Duomo	St. Romulus, 1521	,,
,,	,,	Five small figures in the Confession	,,
,,	Sta. Ma. Primerana	Christ crucified	,,
,,	Oratory of S. Ansano	Various works in terra-cotta	,,
Pisa	S. Silvestro	Virgin in Glory with Angels; below, four Saints in alto-relief, 1520	,,
Lari in the Pisan Territory	In the Vicarage	In an oval, Madonna and Child, with flowers and fruits, 1524	,,
Siena	Ch. dell' Osservanza	Altar-piece, Incoronation of the Virgin, with Saints and bas-reliefs	Luca?
,,	,,	Four evangelists in the ceiling	,,
,,	Cappella de' Turchi	Bas-relief	Cecco di Giorgio
,,	Insane Hospital	Four evangelists	,,
Santa Fiora, in Sienese Territory	Parish Church	Altar-piece, Assumption of the Virgin, with lunette and gradino	Unknown
,,	,,	Tabernacle for the holy oil, and bas-relief in font	,,
,,	,,	Pulpit, the Last Supper, the Resurrection, and the Ascension	,,
,,	,,	Altar-piece, the Incoronation of the Virgin, bas-relief in gradino	,,
Fojano in Valdichiana	Collegiate Church	Altar-piece, the Assumption, dated 1502	,,
,,	S. Francesco	Altar-piece, God the Father, Seraphim and Angels, Saints and gradino, with bas-relief	,,

City	Church, Museum, or Street.	Subject	Author
Fojano in Valdichiano	S. Francesco	Altar-piece, Statues of saints	Unknown
"	S. Domenico	Ascension of Christ, four Angels, twelve Apostles, gradino, with bas-relief	"
Poggibonsi	S. Lucchese	Altar-piece: Madonna and Child, SS. Francis and Anthony	"
"	"	Lunette and gradino, with bas-relief	"
Volterra	S. Girolamo	Last Judgment, gradino with bas-relief	"
"	"	Altar-piece, S. Francis, S. Lucchese, gradino with bas-relief	"
Pistoja	Duomo, over the great door	Frieze, Madonna and Child, with Angels and Seraphim, 1505	Andrea
"	S. Giovanni, f. c.	Visitation	Uncertain
"	Ceppo Hospital façade	Seven Works of Mercy, 1514–1525	Andrea and his sons
Prato	Sta. Anna	Tabernacle, Madonna and Child, with Angels, 1520	Uncertain
"	Duomo, over the great door	Madonna and Child with SS. Lorenzo and Stephen, 1489	"
Rome	Vatican Library	Virgin and Child holding a Fruit	Luca?
Arezzo	Duomo	God the Father sustaining a Crucifix, twelve Angels; below, SS. Donato and Bernardino, Madonna, and Masks	Uncertain
"	"	Madonna adoring, with an Angel	"
"	"	Assumption of the Virgin	"
"	Sta. Maria in Grado	Virgin and Child, Angels, S. Peter, and S. ——? gradino with five bas-reliefs	"
S. Giovanni	Over the door of the Duomo	Assumption of the Virgin	"
Arceria	Capuchin Church	Altar-piece, Madonna and Child, with SS. Jerome and John. Gradino. Scenes from the life of St. Anthony	Pietro Paolo Agabiti
London	S. Kensington Museum	A monk, terra-cotta unglazed, No. 7610	Luca?
	"	Medallion, Coat of Arms of King René d'Anjou, No. 6740	"
	"	Adoration of the Magi, No. 438	"
	"	Virgin and Child, No. 4411	"
	"	Adoring Madonna, No. 7596; and ditto, No. 4032	"
	"	The Nativity, No. 5401	"
	"	Twelve circular medallions of the Twelve Months in enamelled terra-cotta, Nos. 7632–7643	"
	"	Virgin and Child, full length; Arcade of fruits and flowers, No. 7630	Andrea
	"	Half length of Madonna and Child, No. 7547	"?
	"	Statuette of Infant Saviour, No. 7702	"
	"	Altar-piece, Adoration of the Magi, No. 4412	"
	"	Madonna and Child in roundel, No. 5633	"?
	"	Madonna della Cintola, No. 6741	"
	"	Kneeling Angels, Nos. 7614–15	"
	"	Pieces of an arch band, Nos. 7417–7420	Luca or Andrea
	"	Colossal head of an old man, No. 5890	Andrea?
	"	Medallion, head of Cæsar, No. 2555	"
	"	A Relief of the Last Supper, No. 3896	Andrea or Giovanni
	"	The Angelic Salutation, No. 7235	Sch. of Andrea
	"	Female Saint, No. 1090	Andrea or Giovanni
	"	Tabernacle, No. 6736	Sch. of Andrea
	"	Statuette of S. John, No. 1028	"
	"	Descent of the Holy Ghost, No. 7413	"
	"	St. Jerome praying, No. 4235	Unknown
	"	An Amorino playing on a musical instrument, No. 4677	"
	"	Adoring Madonna, No. 412	Sch. of Andrea

City	Church, Museum, or Street	Subject	Author.
London	S. Kens. Museum	Angelic Salutation, No. 4065	Sch. of Andrea
	"	St. Matthew, statue, life size, No. 4248	"
	"	SS. Stephen and Anthony, Nos. 2413–14	"
	"	A coat of arms, No. 4563	"
	"	do. Nos. 7397 and 4517	"
	"	A River God, No. 6863	"
Paris	Musée Napoléon III. au Louvre	Christ in the Garden	"
	"	Christ among the Doctors	"
	"	Virgin and Child. Virgin and Child, child holds a bird. Virgin and Child, altar-piece. God the Father. Angel heads, below are SS. Francis and Roch. The Nativity. Virgin and Child, with Emblem of the Holy Ghost. Virgin, Christ child, and St. Anne. Two male busts. A Bishop. St. Anthony. St. Anthony, the Archangel Gabriel. St. Roch. An Evangelist. A Child. St. John Baptist. Four Medallions. Six Angels. Head of an Emperor. Bust of St. John. Virgin and Child. Four flying Angels. Eight heads of Seraphim enframed. Adoring Madonna. Ditto. Ditto St. Anthony. Two Holy Water Vases.	All belong to the School of Luca della Robbia
		Half figure of an Angel	Giorgio Andreoli
	Gal. de la Renaissance au Louvre	1. Adoring Madonna	Luca?
	"	2. Virgin and Child. 3. A Martyr	School of Luca and Andrea
	"	4. Adoring Madonna. 5. Christ healing a sick man	
	"	6. Head of St. Anne	Sch. of Andrea
	"	7. Sacrifice to Pan. 8. Episode of the Pest at Florence. 9. Mars, the three last in terra-cotta, painted from St. Germain	Attributed to Girolamo della Robbia
	"	10. Beneficence, painted from St. Germain	"
Frankfort a. M.	Staedelsche Institut	Altar-piece	Variously ascribed to Giorgio Andreoli and Andrea della Robbia

C.

Notice of the Château de Madrid.

—'Fait, au reste, la plus grande partie des enrichissements du première et deuxième étage par le dehors, de terre esmaillée. La masse est fort éclatante à la vue, comme vous pouvez voir par les desseins et élévations que je vous en ay desseignez: d'autant qu'il n'est pas jusques aux cheminées et lucarnes qui ne soient toutes remplies d'œuvre.'—*Les plus excellents Bâtiments de France,* par J. A. Du Cerceau, p. 7.

This work contains eight plates of the château: viz., ground plan; two façades, style, French Renaissance; pointed towers and roofs; gabled windows in upper story, loggia below; on first and second story, arches

divided by medallions masking windows; a frieze of hippogriffs; horses' bodies winged, with swans' heads, under projecting cornice of first story; portes et cheminées in other plates; quelques enrichissements des salles, &c., &c.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII.

A.

The Triumphal Arch over the entrance to Castel Nuovo, at Naples, was begun A.D. 1443, in honour of the entry of Alphonso I. of Arragon. Its architect was probably a Milanese, named Pietro di Martino, who is mentioned in an inscription at Sta. Maria Nuova as the architect of that Church, A.D. 1470, and who was highly esteemed by King Alphonso.

This arch is so wanting in unity and harmony of style, that some critics have concluded that it was made at divers epochs, by several artists. Some of the reliefs upon it represent the king's entrance into Naples, and others, as well as some upon its bronze gates (which were cast by a monk named Guglielmo), the victories of Ferdinand I. and of Alphonso over the rebel barons. Among the sculptors who worked upon the reliefs were Isaia di Pisa, Silvestro d' Aquila, Merliano da Nola, Andrea Fiorentino, a scholar of Donatello, and, according to Pompeo Ganrico ('De Sculpturâ'), Desiderio da Settignano ; but this is impossible. Some Latin verses, addressed 'ad immortalitatem Isaiæ Pisani marmorum cœlatoris,' were discovered by the Canonico Angelo Battaglini in a MS. of the Vatican library, No. 1670, entitled 'De felicitate temporum divi Pii Secundi, P. M.,' composed by the poet Porcellio Pandone, secretary to King Alfonso. These verses speak of Isaia as born at Pisa and educated at Rome by his father, Filippo; and, as proof of his exalted genius, cite the tomb of Pope Eugenius IV., and the arch of Castel Nuovo: 'testis et Eugenii IV. mirabilis urna sepulchri, testis et Alphonsi regis arcus erit.' This mention is valuable, as it points him out as the hitherto unknown sculptor of the tomb of Pope Eugenius, which was erected in the Oratory of the Church of San Salvatore in Louro, at Rome, by the Canons of the Church of S. Giorgio in Alga, at Venice, which Eugenius founded. This monument consists of the Pope's statue lying on a sarcophagus, above which is sculptured a Madonna with two adoring angels. The whole is enframed by a cornice, supported upon two pilasters, in which are four niches, containing statuettes of the Doctors of the Church.

These figures are short and clumsy, their faces without expression, and the workmanship is that of a second-rate sculptor.—See *Napoli e sue Vicinanze*, vol. i. pp. 492 et seq.; Gregorovius, *Tombeaux des Papes*, p. 149; and *Commentary to the Life of Giuliano da Majano*, Vasari, vol. iv. pp. 8–12; Schultz, *Denkmaler*, &c., vol. iii., pp. 91, 117; and vol. iv. p. 184; Doc. cdlxviii., Feb. 14th, 1449: 'Puteolis Alfonso rex Æneam Pisanum egregium pictorem et sculptorem inter familiares recipit . . . . . annuoque salario recipit.'

B.

Among the many young men who were induced by the extensive commercial relations maintained between the Florentine Republic and the kingdom of Hungary to travel thither at the end of the fourteenth century, was Filippo Scolari, called Pippo Spano, from Gespann, a A.D. 1382. title of honour signifying Count, or chief captain of a district, which was bestowed upon him by King Sigismund. He was but thirteen years old, and went under the care of a merchant named Lucca Pecchini.

He attracted the attention of the royal treasurer, who was struck with his quickness at accounts, and who presented him to the king, by whom he was made Cavalier and Gespann, and became Count of Ozora, through his wife, who owned a castle of that name. Having added greatly to his renown by repeated victories over the Turks, and risen to be the second man in the kingdom, he was able to be of great use to those of his countrymen who visited Hungary, and who, even after his death, continued to enjoy peculiar advantages, which, in the reign of Matthias Corvinus, an eminent patron of art and literature, were especially extended to artists and men of letters.

For life of Pippo Spano, and a Paper on the Commercial Relations between Florence and Hungary, see *Arch. St. It.*, vol. iv.

C.

Antonio Squarcialupo, n. 1440, *at Florence.*

Protected by Lorenzo de' Medici, he devoted himself to music with great success, gained renown as a maker of enharmonic organs, and was surnamed Antonio degli Organi. His two best organs, which were at St. Paul's in London, were destroyed by fire.

He was called to Constantinople, to build an organ for Mahomet II., and met with a most favourable reception from the Sultan, who bestowed many gifts upon him, all which he lost by shipwreck, when on his way back to

Italy. Having narrowly escaped being drowned, he again found favour and employment at the court of Lorenzo de' Medici.

His reputation as a singer was so great, that nobles and musicians are said to have come from England and the extreme north of Europe to hear him. *Rond. MS.* p. 591. Migliore, *Fir. Ill. Mon. Sep. de la Toscane*, p. 10.

D.

Copy of paper in the Archives of the Bigallo, relating to Benedetto da Majano's Will.

'Benedetto di Leonardo da Majano, nato nel 1442; .fece testamento li 19 aprile, 1492; e morì li 24 maggio, 1497. Lasciò la sua eredità primieramente ai figli maschi, poi, per modo di Fidei commisso alle figlie, in fine estinte le linea masculine e femminine della sua discendenza, chiamò erede la Compagnia del Bigallo, con chè della sua eredità fondasse una Cappella o Benefizio Ecclesiastico, tosto che fosse estinta la discendenza masculina, e facesse edificare un Oratorio o Chiesa presso uno degli spedali dependenti da detta Compagnia, estinta che fosse anchè la linea femminine, il che si verificò nel 1558. Fra gli altri oggetti d' Arte, che i Capitani di detta Compagnia trovarono nella eredità di Benedetto, vi era il gruppo di marmo della Madonna seduta col divino Fanciullo sopra un ginocchio alta br. $2\frac{1}{2}$, e una statua di marmo di S. Bastiano, alta circa due braccia, opere di Benedetto non finite, i Capitani del Bigallo le fecero finire e si sa che nella Madonna spesero fiorini 30, di lire 7 per fiorino.

'La stessa Compagnia fece un dono della detta Madonna, sotto dì 13 decembre, 1578, alla Compagnia della Misericordia detta del Cataletto, in quel tempo separata dal Bigallo, e che pose il gruppo stesso così compiuto sull' altar maggiore del suo Oratorio di faccia al Campanile del Duomo, pagando i 30 fiorini al Bigallo in rimborso.

'Li 12 febbrajo dell' anno 1590, la Compagnia del Bigallo donò a quella della Misericordia anchè il S. Bastiano di Benedetto, come si trova il tutto registrato nel libro e filza 1ª di partiti della Compagnia del Bigallo, rogato M. Prione Gherardini, p. 97, e nella filza 2ª Scritte diverse, No. 8, p. 26, Archivio dell' Uffizio del Bigallo.'

ADDENDA

TO

THE FIRST VOLUME.

I.

Andrea Guazzalotti di Prato, identical with Andrea di Cremona and Andrea Guacialoti, n. 1455, celebrated medallist, and, judging from a Latin poem addressed by Bishop Campana, 'ad Andream Pratensem sculptorem,' in which he compares him to Pyrgoteles, also a sculptor.

> Certa manus, quam nec tenuis vel linea fallat,
> Quæque ipsum posset vincere Pyrgotelem.

Ten of his medals, *cast* like all those of his time, and not stamped, are known; three are inscribed with his name, and the others are believed to be his from more or less certain indications: 1. Pope Nicholas V. (signed), 1455; 2. Niccolo Palmieri, Bishop of Orto, near Narni (signed); 3. Pope Pius II.; 4. Ditto; 5. Pope Calixtus III.; 6. Alfonso, Duke of Calabria (signed); 7. Ditto, 1481; 8. Pope Sixtus IV., 1481; 9. Costanza Bentivoglio, wife of Antonio Pico della Mirandola, 1483; 10. Ditto. As Guazzalotti worked in 1455, his medals are among the earliest known. He was apparently the first who modelled and cast medals at Rome. Vide *A. Guazzalotti, scultore Pratese, Memoria*, by Dr. Julius Friedlander, with woodcuts of seven of his medals from the Friedlander collection.

An appendix to the Italian translation of this memorial, by C. Guasti, published at Prato, 1862, tells us that Guazzalotti was a canon, citizen of Florence, collector of the ecclesiastical tithes at Prato, and parish priest of Aiolo. His letter to Lorenzo de' Medici (1478), in which he speaks of a fire which has destroyed his church, house, and furniture, gives us reason to conclude that he gave up his place at Aiolo soon after. Probably he went to Rome when very young. His death took place in 1495, or 1496.

II.

Giovanni Guidarelli, scarpellatore, mentioned in *Arch. St. It.*, N. S., vol. x. p. 286, as an assistant of Paolo di Giovanni, in making the sculptures about the gate of S. Pier Gattolini in 1328. The Capo Maestro of the works was a certain Giovanni Chambiazzi.

III.

Monument of Barbara Ordelaffi, in the church of San Girolamo at Forli, similar in style to that sculptured by Francesco di Simone (sch. A. Verrocchio, *vide* Ch. VI.), to Alessandro Tartagni, at Bologna. The history of this ambitious and wicked woman is singularly at variance with the lovely and peaceful image upon the sarcophagus in which she is buried, and with the epithet 'ottima,' which is applied to her in the epitaph upon it.

The daughter of Astorgio Manfredi, she was betrothed when seven years old to Piero Ordelaffi, and became his wife in 1462. Thirsting for power, she, with her father's connivance, persuaded her husband to seize and imprison his elder brother Cecco, lord of Forli, and thus make himself master of the city; but feeling their position insecure while the prisoner lived, she mixed poison with the food which she sent to him in the Torre del Orologio. He escaped this danger, thanks to his wife Elisabeth, who shared his prison, and who bore about her person a ring which had the virtue of detecting poisons, but was soon after killed by a band of assassins, employed by Barbara. The plague having broken out at Forli, she removed to Forlimpopoli with her husband, who left her there and went to Florence. She would have followed him, had she not shortly been taken ill, and died, as it is supposed, from the effects of poison, which he 'for reasons unknown,' caused to be administered to her.—Marchesi, *Storia di Forli*, pp. 456–490, *et seq.*

IV.

Piero di Niccolò, August 4, 1418, MS.: 'o dato a chonto fiorini sei, a Mo. Piero di Niccolò, che fa 'l cassone di marmo per defunto Messer Onofrio.' This Messer Onofrio is Onofrio Strozzi. His monument, which is in the sacristy of Sta. Trinità, consists of a sarcophagus (with two flying angels supporting a shield) under a lunette, which stands under an arch, which is adorned with a frieze consisting of 'putti,' supporting an entwined festoon. (Gozzini, *Mem. Sep. della Toscana*, p. 46). Onofrio di Palla Strozzi, n. 1435, was a merchant and soldier (au besoin), who commanded the Florentine galleys against the Pisans, and was twice Gonfaloniere of Justice, 1385 and 1397.

V.

Andrea di Firenze, sculptor of the monument to Ferdinando Sanseverino, Prince of Bisignano, in the Church of S. Giovanni a Carbonara, at Naples. A gothic arch, supported by four light pilasters, upon which are sixteen niches, containing as many statues, rises above the sarcophagus, which is supported by three statues of the Virtues, as Caryatides, and has a bas-relief upon its front representing the Virgin and Angels, St. John the Baptist, and three martyrs. Upon it lies the effigy of the deceased, under a curtain, held back by angels, according to the Pisan type. The hair and robe borders of the figures are picked out with gold, and coloured in parts. This tomb, inscribed 'Opus Andree (*sic*) de Florentia,' was probably made between 1442 and 1458, in the reign of Alfonso I. The figures are clumsy, wanting in proportion, and the work is that of a second-rate artist. Mentioned in *Napoli e le sue Vicinanze*, vol. i. p. 380; and by Schultz, *Denkmaler der Kunst*, &c, vol. iii.

VI.

Bartolo Falconetti, Florentine sculptor, worked at Naples. 'In reg. Karoli III. illustris., 1326–1327, B. p. 228, mentio fit consulum Artium Florentiæ, Vannio Cione, Ventume Donati, et Bartholi Falconetti consulem artis, magistrum lapidum et lignaminum.'—3 Doc. 385, vol. iv. p. 152. Schultz, *op. cit.*

VII.

Giovanni di Firenze, sc., 1343. Schultz, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 72. Tomb of King Robert I. in Sta. Chiara, at Naples. *Vide* Reg. Johanna I., 1343, in which the queen writes that she has contracted with the brothers Pancius and Giovanni da Firenze for a monument to King Robert. Schultz, vol. iv. p. 170, cdxix. 'Neapoli, Feb. 24. Johanna I. Jacobum de Pactio, Florentinum, præposuit invigilaturum operi tumbæ Roberto Regi in Sctæ. Claræ Neapolitanis ædibus, per Sancium et Johannem fratres sculptores faciendæ.'

This tomb, which is one of the grandest in Naples, is attributed by the best Neapolitan and foreign writers to Masuccio II. Possibly Pancio or Sancio, and Giovanni, may have assisted him.

VIII.

In the Sixth Book of his *Treatise on Architecture*, Filarete mentions the following otherwise unknown artists: Varro and Niccolò, who, he says,

studied with him at Rome; Pasquino da Montepulciano as his scholar Antonio da Pisa; Domenico da Lugano, scholar of Brunelleschi; Domenico di Capo d' Istria, who, he says, died at Vicovaro while working for the Conte di Tagliacozzo.

IX.

Maglione da Firenze. In the life of Niccola Pisano, Vasari says (vol. i. p. 266), 'Essendo poi richiamato a Napoli vi mandò Maglione suo creato, scultore ed architetto: il quale fece poi, al tempo di Currado, la Chiesa di San Lorenzo di Napoli: finì parte del Piscopio, e n' fece alcune sepolture, nelle quali imitò forte la maniera di Niccolò.' This passage is full of errors. San Lorenzo was commenced by Charles of Anjou, in 1266, in honour of his victory over Manfred, and continued under Currado II. by the architect, Masuccio, whose share in the work was so great, that he, rather than Maglione, may be said to have built it. It was finished in 1324. The same Masuccio finished, in 1327, the Duomo, upon the site of the old Basilica di Sta. Restituta (il Piscopio, founded in 334). Charles I. laid the foundations in 1272, and Charles II. continued it between 1286 and 1309.—See Note 5 to p. 266, Vasari, vol. i.; and Schultz, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 17.

X.

Tommaso di Stefano detto Giottino, n. 1324, m. after 1368. Monument to Uberto de' Bardi, Florentine captain, in last chapel of central transept of Sta. Croce. Consists of a base, whose front is sculptured with Giottesque looking reliefs of an Ecce Homo and four Apostles. From this base rise twisted columns resting upon recumbent lions, which support a gothic arch, in the tympan of whose gable is a half-figure of Christ giving the Benediction. A fresco, representing Christ seated in the clouds, surrounded by angels, two of whom blow the Last Trump, at the sound of which, Uberto, with clasped hands, rises from the top of the sarcophagus, fills up the central space. Engraved by Gozzini, *Mon. Sep. della Toscana*, pl. 34.

XI.

Jacopetto da Spoleto, fl. 1294. The only work known by this artist is a group of the Madonna and Child, of life-size, made of wood, painted and gilded. It formerly belonged to the Campana collection, and is now in the Louvre. The figures are very stiff in attitude, rude in workmanship, individual in type, and not at all Byzantine. The work is inscribed, 'Jacobitus Paulo de Spoleto (et) Giulian Francisci depinserunt, A. D. MCCLXXXXIIII.'—See *Catalogue du Musée Napoléon III*, Paris, 1862.

APPENDIX AND ADDENDA

TO

THE SECOND VOLUME.

APPENDIX

TO

THE SECOND VOLUME.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

A.

'Apparecchiati dico, che la tua bastonata sara grande, O Roma. Tu sarai cinto di ferro, tu andrai a spade, a fusco, e fiamme. Rome, tu sei inferma d' una grave infirmità, " usque ad mortem." Tu hai perduto la tua sanità, ed hai lasciato Iddio; tu sei inferma di peccati, e di tribolazioni. Se tu vuoi guerire, lascia li tuoi cibi, lascia la tua superbia, la tua ambizione, le tue lussurie, la tua avarizia: questi sono i cibi che ti hanno infermata, questi sono quelli che ti conducano a morte.'—*Villari*, op. cit. vol. i. p. 386.

B.

'Sia noto et manifesto ad qualunche persona vedrà ho (*sic*) legerà la presente scripta, come el Reverendissimo Cardinale di Siena adcoptima ed alloca ad Michelangelo di Luodovico Buonarotti, sculptor fiorentino, ad fare figure quindici di marmo carrarese, novo, candido et bianco, et non venoso, ma della perfectione se li richiede ad quelle. . . . . .

'Item: sia tenuto et obligato fare quelli Apostoli et Santi che sua Signoria Reverendissima nominarà a dextra e sinistra della cappella, con li apanamenti, posamenti, gesti, et nudo se li conviene, et sieno della perfectione che lui promette; cioè, *di piu bontà, meglio conducte, finite et a perfectione che figure moderne sieno hogi a Roma.* . . . . . .

'Item: esso RR. Cardinale vole potere, piacendoli, finite che sieno esse figure et paghate da una in una, judicate da maesti (*sic*) da due in due, come di sopra si dice, in Fiorenza, di quelle come di sue disponere; stando in casa di Michelangelo, di quella levarle, piacendoli, et collocarle et mettarle in Fiorenza, ad sua instantia, petitione et richiesta; acciò *che in*

sue mani emuli et malivoli non le guastassino et rompessino.'—Doc. Sanese, vol. iii. pp. 20, 22, 23.

Remark the evidence furnished at the end of the second clause by the phrase, 'better, &c., than modern figures now made at Rome,' of the higher standard for work executed in Tuscany, and the risk pointed out in the second clause of leaving them, after they are finished, in Michelangelo's house, where envious and malevolent persons may break or injure them.

C.

MS. Letter of Michelangelo.

'Ne' primi anni di Papa Giulio, credo chè fosse il secondo anno che io andai a stare seco dopo molti desegni della sua sepoltura, uno gniene piacque, sopra il quale facemmo il mercato, e tolsila a fare per 10,000 ducati, e andandovi di marmi ducati mille me gli fece pagare, credo dai Salviati in Firenze, e mandommi per i marmi.

'Andai, condussi i marmi a Roma, e uomini, e cominciai a lavorare il quadro e le figure, di che cè ancora degl' uomini che vi lavoravono; e in capo di otto o nove mesi il Papa si mutò d' opinione, e non la volle seguitare, e io trovandomi in sulla spesa grande e non mi volendo dar Sua Santita danari per detta spesa. Dolendomi io seco gli detti fastidio in modo che mi fé cacciar di camera, ond' io m' andai con Dio. Per isdegno mi parti subito da Roma, e andò male tutto l' ordine che io avevo fatto per simile opera, che del mio mi costò piu di 300 ducati, simil disordine senza il tempo mio e di sei mesi che io era stato a Carrara, che io non ebbi mai niente, e i marmi detti si restarono in sulla Piazza di S. Pietro.

'Di poi circa sette o otto mesi che io stetti quasi ascoso per paura, sendo crucciato meco il Papa, mi bisognò per forza, non potendo stare a Firenze, danare a domandargli misericordia a Bologna, che fu la prima volta che si v' andò, dove mi si tenne circa due anni a fare la sua statua di bronzo, che fu alta a sedere sei braccia; e la convenzione fu questa. Domandommi Papa Giulio quello che si veniva di detta figura. Gli disse che non è, e non era mia arte il gettar di bronzo, e che io credevo con mille ducati d' oro gettarla, ma che non sapevo se mi riuscirebbe; e lui rispose, getterarla tante volte che la riesca, e daremti tanti denari quanti bisognerà; e mandò per Messer Ant. Maria di Legnaja, e dissegli che a mio piacere mi pagasse 1000 ducati. Io l' ebbi a gettar due volte; io posso mostrar aver speso incirca 300 ducati, aver tenuto molti garzioni, e aver dato a Messer Bernardino, che fu Maestro d' Artiglieria della Signoria di Firenze, 30 ducati il mese, e le spesse e averlo tenuto parecchi mesi; basta, che all' ultimo messa la figura dove aveva a stare con gran miseria in capo

di due anni, mi trovai avanzati quattro ducati e mezzo. Di che di detta opera, solo stimo giustamente poterne domandare a Papa Giulio piu di mille ducati d' oro, perchè non ebbi mai altro che i primi mille com' è detto. Di poi tornando a Roma, non volle ancora che io seguissi la sepoltura, e volle che io dipignesse la volta di Sisto, di che fummo d' accordo di 3000 ducati a tutte mie spese, con poche figure semplicemente. Poichè io ebbi fatto certi disegni, mi parve che riuscisse cosa povera, onde lui mi refece un' altra allogazione insino alle storie di sotto, e che io facessi nella volta quello che io volevo, che montava circa altrettanto, e cosi fummo d' accordo onde poi finita la volta quando veniva l' utile, non andò innanzi in modo che io stimo restare avere parecchi centinaja di ducati.'—British Museum, *Buonarotti MSS.* vol. xxiii. 208, inscribed, 'Nove foglie di ricordi riguardanti S. Lorenzo, e la Sepoltura di Papa Giulio Secondo.'

D.

Campori, *Not. delle Artisti Esteri, &c.*, p. 103, says that Michelangelo's first visit to Carrara was for Pope Julius in 1504, and that he stayed there eight months; the second, 1505; the third (for Pope Leo), in 1516, thirteen months; the fourth in 1517, at which time, much against his will, on account of his friendship for the Marchese di Massa, he explored the Seravezza quarries; the fifth in 1518; the sixth in 1519; the seventh in 1521; the eighth in 1525. This last date is authenticated by his name cut with the year, upon the ancient bas-relief at the entrance to the Fanti Scritti quarry above Carrara. Michelangelo, when at Carrara, lodged in the house of Francesco Pelliccia, now Casa Agostini, on the Piazza di S. Andrea.—Campori, *op. cit.* p. 105.

E.

MS. Letter from Michelangelo to Messer Luigi del Riccio.

'Messer Luigi, amico caro,—Io son molto sollecitato da Messer Pier Giovanni, a cominciare a dipingere, e come si puo vedere, ancora per quattro e sei dì, non credo potere, perchè l' arriciato non è secco in modo che si possa cominciare. Ma c' è un altra cosa che mi da piu noja che l' arriciato, e che non che dipingere, non mi lascia vivere, e questa è la ratificazione che non viene, e conosco che mi date parole in modo che io sono in gran disperazione. Io mi son cavato dal cuore 1400 scudi, che m' avrebbero serviti sette anni a lavorare, che avrei fatto due sepolture, non che una, e questo ho fatto per potere stare in pace, e servire il Papa

con tutto il cuore. Quello che ho fatto circa i detti denari, l' ho fatto con il consenso del Duca, e con il contratto della liberazione; e ora che gli ho sborsati non vien la ratificazione, in modo che si puo molto ben vedere che significa questa cosa senza scriverlo. Basta, che per la fede di 33 anni, e per essersi donato volontariamente a altri io non merito altro. La pittura, la scultura, la fatica e la fede m' hanno rovinato, e va tuttavia di male in peggio; meglio m' era nei primi anni che io mi fossi messo a fare zolfanelli, che non sarei in tanta passione.

'Io scrivo questo a V. S. perchè come uomo che mi vuol bene, e che ha maneggiata questa cosa, e sanne il vero, lo fara intendere al Papa acciòche ei sappi che io non posso vivere, non che dipingere; e se ho dato speranza di cominciare, l' ho data con la speranza della detta ratificazione che è gia un mese che c' avea a essere. Non voglio piu stare sotto questo peso, ne essere ogni dì vituperato per guiderdone, da chi m' ha tolto vita e l' onore. La morte o' l Papa solo me ne possa cavare.

'Vostro,

'MICHELAGNOLO BUONAROTTI.'

F.

Two MS. Letters from Benvenuto Cellini to Michelangelo.[1]

(No. 1.) 'Eccmo. e divino precettor mio Michelagniolo.--Perchè di continuo io ritengo stampato . . . . occhi e dentro al mio cuore, non mi essendo venuta occasione di avergli affare qualche servizio, per nolle dare noja, si è la causa che molto tempo fa io nollo scritto; ora venendo Maestro Giovanni da Udine arromo (a Roma) e per essergli stato certi pochi giorni a fare penitenzia in casa mia, mi e parso approposito à confortarmi alquanto nello scrivere questi mia parecchi versi a V. S., ricordandole quanto io l' amo. Con molto mio maraviglioso piacere intesi alli passati giorni come per certo voi venivi a rimpatriarvi, che tutta questa citta par grandemente lo desidera, e maggiormente questo nostro gloriosissimo Duca, il quali si è tanto amatore delle mirabil virtu vostre, ed è il piu benigno, ed il piu cortese signiore che mai formassi e portassi la terra; d' hé venite hormai a finire questi vosti felici anni nella patria vostra, contanta pacie e contanta vostra gloria. Se bene io ne o ricevuto qualche stranezza da Iddio mio Signore, le quali mi e parso di ricevere a gran torto, per certo cognosco questo non essere stato causa ne di su Eccellentia Illma., ne merito mia. E che questo sia il vero la dico per certo che mai non fu huomo in sua patria piu cordialmente amato che sono io, et il simile in questa mirabilissima corte, e questo dispiacere che mi

[1] Buonarotti MSS., Br. Museum, vol. xxiii. p. 139.

viene senza causa; tutto si vede lo essere potenzia di qualche malignia stella, alla qual potenzia io non cognoscho altro rimedio che di rimettersi tutto in nel vero ed immortale Iddio, il quale priego che contento mi ci renda per qualche anno ancora.

'Sempre alle commandi di V. S. paratissimo,

'BENVENUTO CELLINI.'

'Di Firenze, alla 14 di marzo, 1559.'

(No. 2.) 'Eccmo. e molto mio osservandissimo Mo. Michelagniolo.—Perchè io credo che mai altromo nascessi al mondo piu affezionato alle gran virtu vostre di quello che sono stato io, cominciando a cognoscerle quando io lavoravo della bella orificeria; e per esser invaghito di quelle vostre uniche virtu, non mi pareva d' haver satisfatto alla honesta voglia mia se prima io non venivo con essa alla mirabile scultura, pero sempre amandovi e osservandovi io mi son fatto qualche honore, e tutto dipende da voi. Hora considerato che gli uomini veramente sono obbligati, e ad amare e osservar l' uno l' altro: trovandomi io adunque un mio lavorante, il quale per la gran bontà sua mi son fatto comporre, e vedutolo molto, per alcuni sue comodi avenirsene in cotesta bella Roma; ancora saputo da lui, ed altre volte vi ha servito in nel fare certe capitelli per la gran fabbrica di S. Pietro: dove io son certissimo, per esser lui homo valente nel arte, e lui vi debba essere riuscito: per questo la prego, e per amor mio voi vi degniate di metterlo . . . . . ch' io ve ne terro molta obbligazione . . . . . sempre che mi comandiate; ed Iddio felicissimo lungamente vi conservi.

'Sempre paratissimo alli commandi vostri,

'BENVENUTO CELLINI.'

'Di Firenze, il dì 3 di 7bre, 1561.'

G.

'Giovanni di Giuliano per 2 giornate £1 *s.* 8. No. 14. Ricordo come a dì 22 d' agosto 1533 sendo in Firenze, andai avvedere la mia nipote a Boldrono, o portargli venti braccia di panno per camicie, e mi costò ventuna soldi il braccio.'—*Buonarotti MSS.* Br. Mus., vol. xxii. 371.

H.

That an Architect should be a Draughtsman and Anatomist.

—'E pero è cosa certa, che le membra dell' Architettura dipendono delle membra dell' uomo. Chi non è stato, o non è buon maestro di figure, e massime di notomia non se ne può intendere.'—*Lettera di M. Angelo al Reverendissimo* ———. See Harford's *Life*, vol. ii. p. 326.

Michelangelo's Letters.

Annibal Caro, in a letter to Messer Ant. Gallo, says, 'E perchè il suo costume è di non mai scrivere.'—See Bottari, *Lett. Pitt.* No. 98.

In writing to Vasari after Urbino's death, Michelangelo says, 'Ho perduto la memoria, e' l cervello, e lo scrivere m' è di grandissimo affanno, perchè non è mia arte.' Michelangelo generally used an amanuensis 'His style,' says Ciampi, 'is extemporaneous, negligent, popular, and unequal in orthography—mixed Florentine and Roman, like his speech, but masculine, strong and concise in its phrases, simple and dictated by deep feeling, energetically conceived, and full of repetitions.' He was in the habit of sending his poems to learned friends for correction.

Sonnetto V. di Michelangelo.	Translation, by W. W. Story, Esq.
Molto diletta al gusto intero e sano L' opra del prim' arte, che n' assembra I volti, e gli atti, e con sue vive membra, Di cera, o terra, o pietra un corpo umano.	Unto the sound perfected taste, most dear That first of arts, which has the power to take Or stone, or earth, or wax, and in them make Our living faces, acts, and forms appear.
Se poi 'l tempo ingiurioso aspro e villano Lo rompe o storce, o del tutto dismembra, La beltà che prim'era si rimembra Dentro 'l pensier, che non l' accolse in vano.	What though injurious time, harsh and severe, Dismember utterly, distort, or break, Within the mind that loved it for its sake, Remembered, it again its shape shall wear.
Similmente la tua gran beltade Ch' esempio è di quel ben che 'l ciel fa adorno, Mostroci in terra dell' artista eterno.	So shall it be with thy great loveliness, Type of that good that heaven itself adorns, And by the Eternal Artist here's displayed.
Venendo men col tempo e con l' etade Tanta avrà più nel mio desir soggiorno, Pensando al bel ch' età non cangia o verno.	Though it with time decay, with age grow less, So much the more within my heart sojourns That beauty that no time nor age can fade.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

A.

The cell in which Cellini was confined is still shown at the Castle of St. Angelo. It is a wretched room, about twelve feet square, into which no light can penetrate at present, as its only window, through which he made his escape, has been stopped up. We give below a madrigal which he wrote during his imprisonment, with a translation by W. W. Story, Esq.

CIX.

Madrigale scritto in Carcere.

Da questo carcer basso,
O Dio, o Dio immortale, io purti chiamo,
Dal duolo stanco e lasso.
Avvinto io sono; e da te merzè bramo.
Apri l' orecchie al pianto mio, ch' i' passo.
Qual dentro a questo sasso
Fia senza errori? o' s'ammendar ci voglia,
Qual de tuoi servi mai resister possa?
Di sangue, carne e d' ossa
Fragil composti siamo, e con tua voglia:
Deh! abbi ormai pietà di nostra doglia.

TRANSLATION.

Madrigal written in Prison.

From this low prison wall,
O God, immortal God, on Thee I call,
Weary and weak with pain.
For I am bound; oh! pardon, break my chain.
Open thy ears, and make me free again.
Who in this cell of stone
Can blameless be? and if Thou dost insist
Upon repentance, is there anyone
Of thy frail servants able to resist?
Of flesh, and blood, and bone,
Weak we are made, for so thou dost ordain:
Oh! then, have pity on us in our pain.

B.

A book of accounts belonging to the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, kept by his treasurer Tommaso Mosti during the year 1540, has been lately discovered in the Modenese Archives by the Marchese Campori, who has made it the subject of an article in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, entitled 'The Cardinal d'Este and Benvenuto Cellini.'

The artist's name first appears in an entry dated January 4, 1540 (one month after he had been released from the Castle of St. Angelo, through the mediation of Cardinal Ippolito), which records that twelve pieces of straw matting have been bought by the treasurer, and given to Benvenuto to cover the floor of the chamber, in the palace of the Rev. Cardinal of Mantua, where he is at work for the Very Rev. Cardinal of Ferrara.

To reconcile this statement with that made by Cellini in his Autobiography, that on his delivery from prison he was received and lodged in the palace of the Cardinal of Ferrara, the Marchese Campo i supposes that his Eminence was at the time a resident in the palace of the Cardinal Gonzaga, and had not yet removed to the palace on Monte Cavallo, now a part of the Quirinal Palace, which he is known to have occupied during a part of his stay at Rome.

The items of expenditure noted in this account-book, prove that all the objects necessary for Cellini's comfort, as well as for his work, were furnished him at the expense of his reverend protector; e. g. January 12th, payment is noted to a mason for a goldsmith's forge, erected in the palace for Maestro Benvenuto, goldsmith, who is working for his Very Rev. Signory. Benvenuto tells us in his memoirs[1] that he went to Tagliacozzo, whence he brought back his pupil Ascanio, and that on his return to Rome he began to work upon a silver basin which he had

[1] *Vita di Cellini*, book ii. p. 284.

commenced before his incarceration, and that he modelled a basin and a drinking cup intended to replace one which had been stolen from him, and adds that the Cardinal had commissioned him to make his seal and a model for a salt-cellar.

Nothing is known about the seal or the salt-cellar, but mention is made of four silver candlesticks, which Benvenutowas ordered to make soon after his liberation, and of a silver cup. The accounts inform us that on the 28th of January thirty bajocchi were paid to a turner for a wooden cup, which was given to Maestro Benvenuto as a model for that which he had promised to make for the Cardinal.

On the 1st of March Benvenuto received a gold scudo for the design of a rosary, after which pattern the Cardinal had several made to take with him to France, as presents for Madame d'Étampes, Madame de Bonneval, and other ladies attached to the Court at Fontainebleau. February 6, mention is made by the treasurer of a gold scudo paid to Benvenuto, who had lent that sum to his Eminence at a masquerade; and on the following day he records that certain pieces of cloth had been given to Cellini to decorate a triumphal car, which the Cardinal had ordered of Francesco della Viola, to be used at a concert which he offered to the Pope.

The assistants of Cellini, Paolo Romano and Ascanio da Tagliacozzo, are recorded in the treasurer's account-book from time to time, as the recipients of money for work done by them, and also as having each been presented with a cap and cloak of cloth bordered with velvet, worth together more than twenty-four golden scudi. On the 22nd of March Cellini and his assistants, Paolo and Ascanio, left Rome with the Cardinal for Ferrara, where they were lodged in the Palazzo Belfiore.

Here Cellini immediately occupied himself upon the silver cup and basin for the Cardinal, which the latter took with him to France and presented to the king. The treasurer Mosti records in his account-book various articles furnished to the artists for their work—such as a plank, a table, iron files, wax, &c. &c., and a silver candlestick with several pieces of money to be melted down for the cup and basin. Mention is also made of a work about which Benvenuto says nothing in his memoirs, namely, a portrait head of the Cardinal, which was modelled and cast in plaster, as payment was made on the 14th of April to a caster, for having 'made a mould, and twice cast in plaster the head of our very Illustrious and Rev. Cardinal, which was delivered over to Maestro Benvenuto to be cast in bronze.'

The matter probably went no further, and this supposition will account for Benvenuto's silence about it. Indeed there was hardly time to cast the bust, as the Cardinal, who left Ferrara for France about the middle of

April, was shortly followed by Cellini and his pupils. The silver cup and basin were brought to Fontainebleau in an unfinished state, as we learn by an entry dated there December 24, that he then received seventy-four gold pieces, to be used in gilding them.

Besides the account-book from which the above notices have been extracted, Signor Campori has discovered another volume, containing an account of the administration of the Cardinal's property in France, during the years 1548 and 1549, in which mention is made of Cellini's pupils, Paolo and Ascanio.

Ascanio di Giovanni was only thirteen years old when he first came from Tagliacozzo to Rome to study under Benvenuto Cellini, A.D. 1537.

He accompanied his master during his two visits to France, and assisted him in the works which he undertook there up to 1545.

Paolo Romano, 'detto della Frangia,' followed Cellini when he went to France for the second time. During the year 1540, both received from the Cardinal of Ferrara a monthly salary, which was afterwards continued to them by King Francis I. After Cellini's return to Italy they remained in Paris, and there worthily sustained their master's reputation. The book of accounts makes mention of many works which they executed for the Cardinal from the 8th of July, 1548, to the 15th of May, 1549. Such as were finished when the Cardinal left France for Rome, he took with him; the remainder were forwarded to him by his treasurer Mosti, whom he had left behind him to arrange his affairs.

The names of both artists are recorded up to 1552 as employed by the Cardinal; after which date no further mention is made of Paolo. Ascanio is twice again spoken of—the first time in an account of expenses incurred during the visit of Don Alphonso, cousin of the Duke of Ferrara, in 1558 and 1559, when he is called Ascanio di Nello, from his dwelling-place, and the second time Ascanio dei Mafii, the recipient of sixty 'livres tournois,' for six little ewers and three silver vases made by him for the Cardinal.

Nothing more is known about either of Cellini's pupils, who must have been able workmen, or the Cardinal would not have entrusted them with so many important works, while he had Marcel, Hottmann, Tutin, and other eminent French goldsmiths, in his employ.—(*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Oct. 1st, 1864: 'Article sur le Cardinal d'Este et Benvenuto Cellini, par le Marquis Giuseppe Campori.')

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

A.

Anonimo. Note 51 *by Morelli.*

Marco Mantova Benavides, of Padua, obtained celebrity as a writer upon and professor of jurisprudence, as well as by the princely splendour with which he adorned his dwelling with antiquities of all sorts, books, drawings, instruments of music, and other rarities.

His legal works, filled with historical and antiquarian erudition, as well as those of a lighter sort of literature, show that he was a man of cultivation superior to that of the lawyers of his time.

The Colossal Hercules made for the cortile of his palace by Ammanati, was twice engraved; at Rome, by Antonio Lafrery, in 1549 and 1557, and at Padua, by Francesco Bertelli, in 1657, with a little Latin poem by Michele Cappellari.

Morelli, p. 151, republishes a part of the Catalogue of the Museo Mantova, made in 1695, by Andrea Benavides, nephew of Marco.

Three of the five medals which Benavides caused to be struck in his honour were made by Giovanni Cavino, of Padua. Another, engraved in the Museo Mazzuchelliano, p. 377, was coined by Martino da Bergamo. Francis I. wished to purchase his collection, but Mantova, in order to stop the matter, offered to give it to the king, but declined selling it for any price.

B.

Francesco Trucchi, in his notice of Laura Battiferri (vol. iii. of the *Poesie Italiane inedite*, p. 359), says, 'Uno dei piu belli, dei piu leggiadri e dei piu sublimi sonetti di Laura è rimasto finora inedito, e fu da me scoperto in un testo a penna magliabecchiano del cinquecento.'—Cod. 38, palch. viii. Bib. Magliabecchiana. It is given below, with a translation by my friend W. W. Story, Esq.

Sonnet.	Translation.
S' io gli occhi innalzi a rimirar talora	When to the heavens my eyes uplifted are,
Il ciel di tanta e si bei lumi adorno,	Which many a light and glorious adorns,
E lui che col partir, col far ritorno,	With his who in his goings and returns
Le stelle infiamma, e le campagne inflora,	Paints all the earth with flowers, and fires each star,
Dico, oh quant' è piu risplendente ogn' ora	Wondering I say, and yet more glorious far
L' altro del sommo sole alto soggiorno,	That heaven of heavens where the Most High sojourns,
Ch' immobil sempre il tutto move intorno,	Who himself moveless, all around him turns,
E di se stesso il tutto empie e innamora!	And fills with love that nought can change or mar.

Oh come son di voi, stelle, piu ardenti	Ye stars! more radiant are the souls elect
Gli spirti eletti, e quell' anime care,	And those dear spirits that together move,
Che s' aggiran d' intorno al polo eterno!	Circling in concourse sweet the Eternal Pole.
Oh che felici influssi! ah che possenti	What happy influence! what divine effects
Effetti produr sanno! E'n questo alzare	By them are wrought! They seem to lift my soul
Sento me stesso al vero ben superno.	And bear it to the source of truth and love.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

A.

Borghini's volume, entitled *Il Riposo*, from the name of Bernardo Vecchietti's villa, which is situated about three miles outside the Porta S. Niccolò, consists of imaginary conversations upon art between Vecchietti, Ridolfo Sirigatti, Cavaliere di S. Stefano, Messer Baccio Valori, and Girolamo Michelozzi.

Borghini describes the many works of art collected in the casino of the villa, viz., the Cartoon of his Leda, and a piece of the Cartoon of the Pisan war, by Michelangelo; the head of a dead man, by L. da Vinci; Cellini's model for his Perseus (now in the Uffizi), &c., &c.; and many figures in wax, clay, and bronze, representing 'prisoners, women, gods, rivers, and famous men,' by Gianbologna.

The first room, he says, is surrounded with models by Gianbologna, and with statues, pictures, and drawings by other masters; 'in short,' he adds, 'in this villa are to be found all things which can please the body, and nourish the soul.'

'Il Riposo' is at present stripped of the treasures which once adorned it.

Note to Chapter V.

Gianbologna is stated by Cinelli, in a MS. preserved in the Magliabecchiana Library at Florence, to have had the head of Dante in his possession. Gualandi (*Mem. di Belle Arti*, III. Series, p. 177) extracts a passage from the said manuscript, to this effect. After saying that the citizens of Ravenna, who had courteously welcomed Dante when alive, did him honour by celebrating his funeral obsequies and by erecting a monument to him when dead, Cinelli states that the Archbishop caused the poet's head to be taken from the sepulchre, and that it came into the possession of Gianbologna the sculptor, who left it to his scholar Pietro Tacca. 'One day Tacca showed it with other curiosities to the Duchess Sforza, who having wrapped

it in a scarf of green cloth carried it away, and God knows into what hands this precious object has fallen, or where it is to be found. Ludovico Salvetti, Tacca's scholar, and an eyewitness of this deed, who has often told me about it (says Cinelli) stated that Tacca was extremely grieved at being deprived of so precious a relic. The head was not very large in front, but excessively delicate in its bony structure, and being very long from the occiput where the suture ends, was oval in shape, and not round like other heads, giving manifest proof of the wonderful memory of this celebrated poet. On account of its singular beauty it was often drawn by the scholars of Tacca.'

In a note to this extract, Seymour Kirkup, Esq. says, 'there are three masks of Dante at Florence, all of which have been judged by the first Roman and Florentine sculptors to have been taken from life. The slight differences noticeable between them being such as might occur in casts made from the original mask.'

One of these masks was given to him by the sculptor Bartolini, another belonged to the late sculptor Professor Ricci, and the third is still in the possession of the Marchese Torrigiani.

ADDENDA

TO

THE SECOND VOLUME.

An Alphabetical Table of the Lives of Artists described by Vasari, has been recently printed at Florence by MM. Gaetano and Carlo Milanesi, and Carlo Pini. It contains the dates of their births and deaths, extracted from the Books of the Baptised, which commence with the year 1450; the Books of Age, in which the year, month, and day of the birth of each citizen qualified by law or privilege to hold office is noted, from the year 1376 to the middle of the eighteenth century; the Books of the Dead, of which there are three series, the first from the year 1379 to 1412, the second from 1424 to 1777, and the third which begins in 1459 and is continued to our own time; the Records of Property, in which is noted the age of each member of every citizen's family in Florence and the neighbourhood, from 1427 to 1505; finally, other materials for this compilation have been taken from the Books of the Dead belonging to various churches and convents, and the Records of the City Guilds.

Preserving an alphabetical arrangement, I give below the names mentioned in these volumes, with some additional matter kindly furnished by Sig. Gaetano Milanesi:

1. Ammanati Bartolomeo (d'Antonio), n. June 18, 1511, m. April 14th, 1592; was buried in San Giovannino.—*See* vol. ii. ch. 4.

2. Andrea Ferrucci di Fiesole, n. 1465, m. June 30th, 1526. The year of his birth is extracted from the record made in 1487 by Piero di Marco Ferrucci, father of Andrea, who says in it that his son, then at Naples, is twenty-two years old.—*See* vol. i.

3. Andrea Pisano, n. about 1273, m. 1349 (?) It appears that Andrea died about 1349, as after March in that year no mention is made of him. He was then head-master of the Fabbrica of the Duomo at Orvieto, in which office he was succeeded by his son, Nino, who held it from the

18th of July to the end of November, 1349. (*Archivio della Fabbrica del Duomo d'Orvieto.*)—*See* vol. i. ch. 3.

4. Arnolfo di Cambio, n. 1240, m. March 13th, 1311. (*Necrology of S. Maria del Fiore.*)—*See* vol. i. ch. 2.

5. Bertoldo. The following portion of a letter written by Sgr. Bartolomeo Dei, notary, to his uncle, Benedetto Dei, on the 30th of December, 1491, fixes the date of this sculptor's death. The letter is preserved in the Florentine Archives :—'Bertoldo scultore degnissimo, e di medaglie optimo fabricatore, el quale sempre col magnifico Lorenzo faceva cose degne, al Poggio s'è morto in due dì; che n'è danno assai, e a lui molto è doluto, che non se ne trovava un altro in Toscana, ne forse in Italia di si nobile ingegno e arte in tali cose.'—*See* vol. i. ch. 5.

6. Agnelli Fra Guglielmo, n. about 1238, m. 1312. The following extract, printed in the *Archivio St. Italiano*, vol. vi. p. 2da, page 464, from a MS. Necrology of the Convent of St. Catherine, at Pisa, furnishes the latter date. After speaking of the rib of St. Dominic, which Fra Guglielmo had stolen at Bologna and concealed under an altar of his Convent at Pisa, it states, 'nec cuique nisi moriens aliquando indicavit, *quod fuit anno* 1312, completis ab eo in ordine lvi annis.'—*See* vol. i. ch. 1.

7. Donatello, n. 1386, m. 13th of December, 1466. Three records give 1386 as the year of his birth, one only (that of 1430) says 1388.—*See* vol. i. ch. 5.

8. Filarete Antonio, n. about 1414, m .—— Filarete is perhaps Antonio di Francesco, who in 1479 was more than 65 years old.—*See* vol. i. ch. 6.

9. Ghiberti Lorenzo, n. 1378, m. November 28th, 1455. Ghiberti himself says that he was born in 1378, and not in 1381, as stated by Vasari.—*See* vol. i. ch. 5.

10. Lorenzi Stoldo (di Giovanni), n. 1534, m. September 7th, 1538. Book of the Dead. He was buried in the Annunziata.—*See* vol. ii. ch. 5.

11. Majano Benedetto, n. 1442, m. May 24th, 1497. Was buried in S. Lorenzo.

12. Margheritone (di Magnano), n. 1236, m. 1313 (?) Perhaps he died before 1299, because his name is not mentioned in the list of the brothers of the Fraternity of Arezzo, which was begun in that year, and contained the names of nearly all the citizens.—*See* vol. i. ch. 3.

13. Michelozzi Michelozzi (di Bartolomeo di Gherardo di Borgognone), n. 1391, m. 1472. The founder of the house of the Michelozzi in Florence was Bartolomeo di Gherardo, called Borgognone, tailor, who on the 9th of April, 1376, demanded and obtained citizenship from the Republic. Michelozzo was buried in the church of St. Mark on the 7th of October, 1472.—*See* vol. i. ch. 5.

14. Mino (di Giovanni di Mino) da Fiesole, n. 1431, m. July 11th, 1484. Mino was certainly from Poppi, in the Casentino, as he states in his matriculation to the Guild of the 'Maestri di Pietra.' He was born between 1431 and 1432, as in 1470 he declared himself to be forty years old, and again in 1480 to be aged 48.—*See* vol. i. ch. 7.

15. Montelupo (da) Baccio, n. 1469, m. 1533? In a record of property made in 1504, Baccio says he is thirty-five years old, wherefore he must have been born in 1469.—*See* vol. i.

16. Montelupo (da) Raffaello, n. 1505, m. 1569–70. He was born between 1504 and 1505, as he is not mentioned in the family record made by his father in 1504.—*See* vol. ii. ch. 2.

17. Nanni d'Antonio di Banco, n. in second half of fourteenth century, m. December 21st, 1420.—*See* vol. i. ch. 5.

18. Orcagna Andrea (di Cione), n. —— m. 1368? We believe that Orcagna died about the end of 1368, as we know that on the 25th of August in that year, he being very ill, the consuls of the Arte del Cambio commissioned his brother Jacopo to finish the picture of St. Matthew which they had ordered from Andrea on the 15th of September 1367, for a pilaster at Or San Michele. It is certain that no further mention is made of him until 1376, and then as of a person already dead.

The date of Orcagna's death, which has always been uncertain, if rightly fixed by Sig. Milanesi, has an important bearing upon the theory first broached by Sig. Passerini and supported by Sig. Milanesi, that Andrea Orcagna was not the architect of the Loggia de' Lanzi. The reasons for this belief are stated in the following notice, which Sig. Milanesi has kindly written out for me:—

The Loggia de' Lanzi.

'On the 21st of November, 1356, the Signory of Florence discussed the project of building a Loggia in the Piazza de' Priori, but did not determine its precise site. Orcagna might be supposed to have been commissioned to design and model it, were it not for this historical reason, that the Florentine Republic generally committed to the Opera del Duomo, or to some one of the city guilds, such as that of the wool, cloth, or silk merchants, the erection of the public edifices which they from time to time decided upon. The so-called Loggia of Orcagna was committed to the Opera del Duomo, which would naturally have made use of its own head-master and architect to construct it. In 1376, twenty years after the above-mentioned deliberation, when the Loggia was begun, Orcagna had been dead eight years, if my conjecture be correct that he died about 1368. Now it is difficult to

understand, if the design and the model for the Loggia were commissioned from Orcagna, how he could have made them before the site was fixed upon; and, if he did make them, who does not see that the architect called upon to carry out Orcagna's design would have very much changed it in accordance with the exigencies of the site, as best suited his own ideas?

'Everything then leads to the belief that the design and the model of the Loggia were not made until 1376, in which year the houses which stood upon the place where it was to be built were purchased, and its construction was begun; and as we knew that the Opera del Duomo had the direction of the matter, it is reasonable to suppose that it selected its own architect to build it. At that time, as we know from the records of the Opera, its architect was Benci di Cione, an artist renowned in his profession. My belief is, that the error of attributing this edifice to Orcagna arose from a confusion made between Andrea di Cione (Orcagna) and Benci di Cione, at one time believed to have been his brother, but now known by documentary evidence to have belonged to another family. This Benci di Cione was in 1340 the associate of Neri Fioravanti, a celebrated architect, who was employed in the construction of the Loggia of Or San Michele, and aided in the restoration and enlargement of the Palace of the Podesta. In 1356 he was called to Siena with Francesco Talenti to give his opinion about the defective state of the Duomo, which threatened its ruin. (*See* vol. i. p. 249, *Doc. Sanesi.*) Benci di Cione and Ristoro di Cione were sons of a Lombard named Cione, who came to live in Florence, and married there.'—*See* vol. i. ch. 3.

19. Pollajuolo (del) Antonio (d' Jacopo di Giovanni Benci, detto), n. 1429, m. 1498. The date of his birth is fixed by the estimate of property, &c., made by his father, Jacopo, the poultry keeper, in which Antonio is said to be one year and a half old.—*See* vol. i.

20. Simone (called by Vasari the brother of Donatello). We believe that no such person as Simon, brother of Donatello, ever existed; and suppose that the artist of this name who assisted Antonio Filarete in casting the bronze gates of St. Peter's, at Rome, was a Florentine goldsmith, named Simon Ghini, who resided there at that time.—*See* vol. i. ch. 6.

21. Verrocchio (del) Andrea (di Michele di Francesco Cioni, detto), n. 1435, m. 1488. His records of property, dated 1457 and 1480, say that he was born in 1435.

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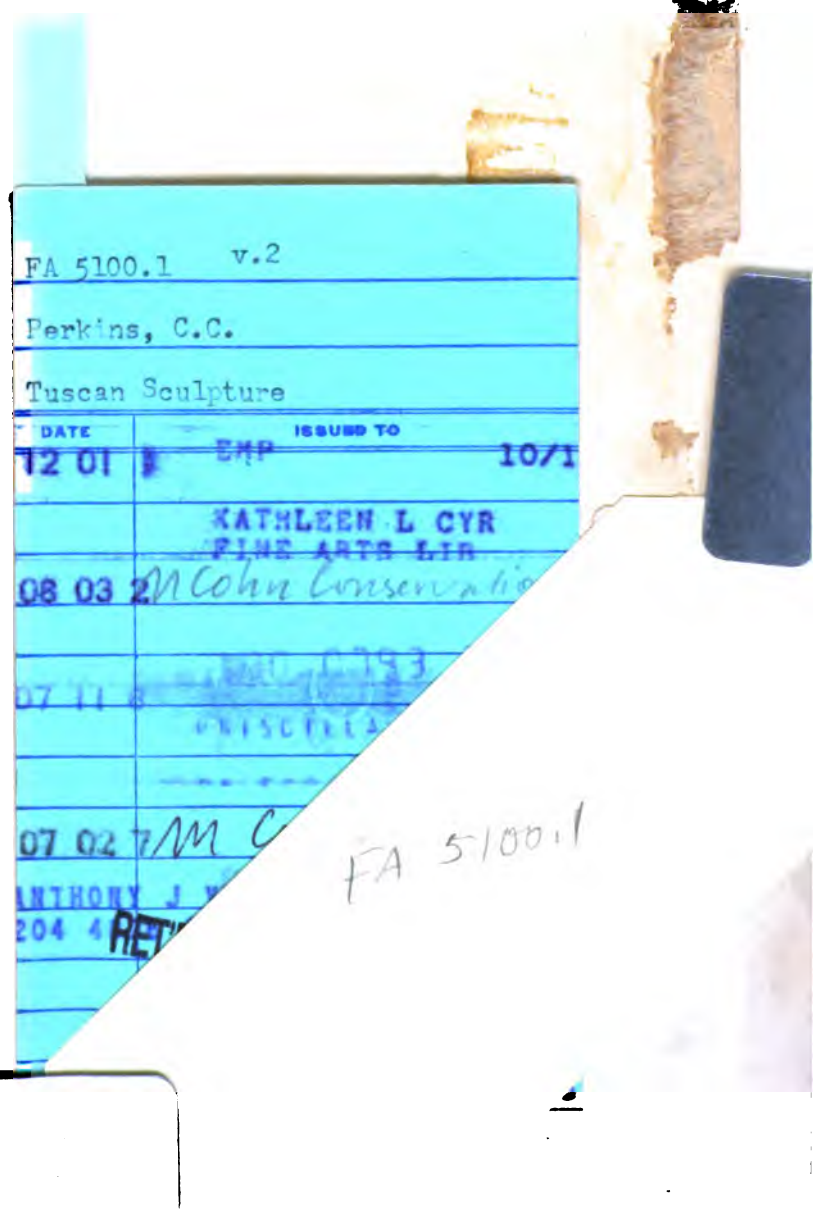
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